

THE
ROMAN
CONDUCT

IN QUASHING

Catiline's Conspiracy,

TAKEN FROM

The Original *Latin* of *Salust* and *Ci-
cero*, and Humbly Recommended
to the Perusal of true Patriots in
both Houses of Parliament.

L O N D O N,

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ANNUAL
REPORT



THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
WASHINGTON, D. C.
JANUARY 1, 1900

REPORT
FOR THE YEAR 1899



THE
P R E F A C E.

IF any Man will say upon Honour that he looks upon the Proceedings at the Revolution to have been just and necessary; that he joins heartily in the Prayers of the Church of England, for the Fifth of November, in which we bless God for giving his late Majesty King William a safe Arrival here, and for making all Opposition fall before him until he became our King and Governour; and that he looks upon the Church of Rome as an Idolatrous Church, corrupted in many substantial Points both of Faith and Worship, as she must needs be, unless the Articles and Homilies of the Church of England have deluded us:
A If,

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If, I say, any Man is firmly establish'd in these Truths; I think it will be impossible for him, without trespassing upon all the Rules of Candor and Modesty, to deny that the Advances of the Jacobites under the late Administration, had as fatal an Aspect to the Religion and Liberty of Great Britain, as Catiline's Conspiracy had to that of Rome. I am sure he never intended more Cruelty against them that stood most in his Way, than mis-led Popish Zeal hath executed against Protestants; nor to introduce any Thing worse into his Country than Tyranny and arbitrary Power. If Catiline was to begin with Assassinations, Fire and Sword; It's certain the Jacobites were wheedling, threatening and using all imaginable Expedients to get us into the Net of Popish Power, and thereby to make us obnoxious to all the Evils a Nation can suffer. If Catiline's Conspiracy had taken Place, it could never have stood long: The Pretences with which he covered his Usurpation were so thin, that the Fraud and Falshood must needs have been discernable in a short time, and he must have been as hateful in the Possession, as he was popular in aspiring to his Greatness. It's visible to every Reader

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der, that tho' his Measures were ingenious as to the over-turning of the Power in being, yet they were lame and defective as to the Establishment of his own: And if they had been ever so well concerted, it's impossible he could have withstood the return of Pompey from the Mithridatick War. But if the Jacobite Plot had taken Place, if that Deputy, that Creature of France and Rome, had mounted the Throne, they had the plausible Right of Blood to pretend: And what a Progress had they made before her Majesty's Death, in stunning City, Court and Country with the Noise of indefeasible Hereditary Right? they doubted not of finding them guilty of the Blood of King Charles the First, and Enemies to the Church of England, that scrupled to join with them in that Lurry. Lentulus was drawing in the Savoyards, a conquered Nation, to partake in the Conspiracy: These Men were set on work by the House of Bourbon, and undoubtedly had their Encouragement from thence, in which respect that of the Jacobites is infinitely more terrible than that of Catiline was. It's well known that the French King and the Dutcheß of Burgundy supported Perkin's Pretences, and encouraged the Faction.

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tho' they knew the Cheat, not doubting to find their Account in the Confusions of England. When Catiline's Conspiracy was discovered, it was so popular and indirectly favour'd by so many great Men, that the Consul, the Chief Magistrate, found it advisable to use his Power in suppressing it with the utmost Caution and Prudence, perceiving the Constitution so sick, so weak and unwieldly, that if he had gone rashly to work, he might have ruin'd his Country, and been obliged to leave it in Confusion, a Prey to these Invaders. Providence was kind to him in the Matter of Intelligence, and he wanted neither Judgment nor Eloquence to make the most of it both in the Senate and amongst the People. When Catiline was gone to Mallius and the Army; and Lentulus, Cethegus and Gabinius discovered and apprehended; it was referred to the Senate, what was fit to be done with the Prisoners. Silanus the Consul Elect was of Opinion they ought to be put to Death. Cæsar look'd upon perpetual Imprisonment as more agreeable to the Roman Clemency, and in it self more severe. Cicero left the Matter to a fair Vote, and heartily promised to risque his Life and Fortune, if there were Occasion for it, in executing

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executing what they should resolve upon. When the Senate was doubtful and fluctuating, Cato tho' but a young Man, determined the Point, for which he was then admired by that great Assembly, and will be by all judicious Readers unto the End of the World. Crispinus saith, he spoke as if he had been inspired. Not to mention how he exposes the Vanity of Cæsar's Nations, and strikes hard upon him as a Favourer of the Conspirators. He tells them it's Folly to dispute upon Niceties of Law, or the Ostentation of Clemency, for saith he, the Question is, how the Commonwealth may be safe. And when indeed is a Nation in so great Danger, as when a Conspiracy is indirectly favoured by many great Men infinitely popular, and the Abettors of it furious to the last Degree? And if they had been sentenced to perpetual Imprisonment, might they not been rescued by the Mob to begin where they left off, or set at Liberty by the next Usurper, to whom doubtless they were capable of being very useful? Nay their being preserved alive must have been a great Encouragement to any bold Adventurer, that had a Mind to invade the Government. The Heads of the Jacobites are not yet convicted. But if a Design

Oratio pro-
pemodum
divina.

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to bring in the Pretender, with an uniform Series of Actions subservient thereunto, be Treason, I know not how they can be acquitted.

*sig. o. h. 10
anubornsq
anivib* The Surrendering of the Balance of Power, by putting the greatest Weight in the heavier Scale, The Breach of Publick Faith, in the fatal Cessation of Arms, were both harmful to the Nation and dishonourable in the highest Degree. And since the Queen could do no Wrong, it's to be hoped the Doers of it will be discovered, and all Men made sensible whither they were leading us. For it's Impudence with a Mistake, to pretend Errors and Oversights, where there is a Series of Actions concurring in the same Design. We must not cherish our Enemies in our Bosom, to time their Insurrections so as they may jump with an Invasion from abroad, to share in the Counsels of the Nation, and to clog all the Measures that are truly calculated to the common Advantage. They are easily discerned in Conversation, for they are always dropping such Informations as tend to alienate the Hearts of the People from King GEORGE; concerning whom nothing will please them, unless he will trust himself and his Affairs to such as submit to him of Necessity.

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sity, and not of Choice; who will not be wanting to any Opportunity of betraying him, when they can improve it with Safety.

May it please the Almighty to abate their Pride, assuage their Malice, and confound their Devices, that **KING GEORGE** may possess the Heart of his Friends and the Gate of his Enemies, and be called the Restorer of the Breach amongst our latest Posterity. **AMEN.**



E R

THE PREFACE

very and most of choice; who will not be
granting to any opportunity of betraying
them, when they can improve it with safe-

May it please the Almighty to spare

their Faithful Ministers

ERRATA

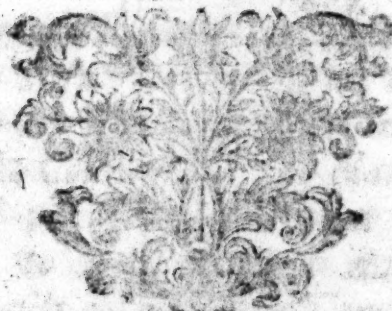
and contained their Devices, that

Page 5. l. 1. for *wretched* read *wretched*. page 63. l. 6. for
mixt read *next*. page 74. l. 15. for *need* read *needs*. page
121. l. 1. for *African* read *Africanus*.

of his Finances, and be called the

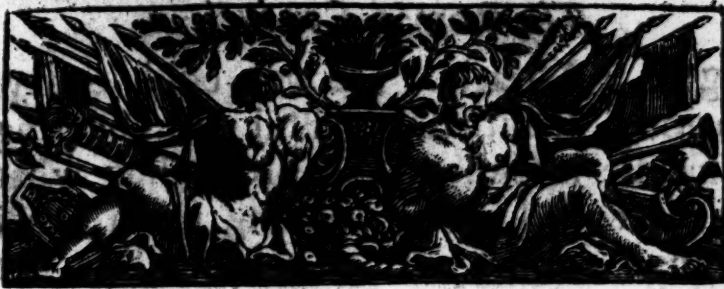
Reflector of the British amongst our

lastest Posterity. N. M. M.



THE

E. R.



THE GREAT
PRUDENCE
AND MANLY
CONDUCT
OF THE

Consul and Senate of *Rome*,

In Discovering and Quashing

Catiline's CONSPIRACY.



CATILINE was well descended, a Man of great Abilities both of Body and Mind, but vicious to the last Degree. From his Youth up he was a Promoter of Robbery, Slaughter, Discord and Civil Wars: And in these Things he exercised himself. He could indure Want, Cold and Watch-
B ing

ing to a Miracle. He was bold, crafty, various, habitually skilful in covering what he intended, and pretending what he intended not; looking upon other Mens Fortunes with an envious Eye, but very profuse and wasteful of his own, and unreasonably violent in his Motions. He had more Eloquence than solid Judgment, projecting always Things impracticable and too high. After the Tyranny of *L. Sulla* he was possessed with a strong Notion of invading the Government, not mattering how he came at it, if he could but get the Sovereignty into his Hand. The Fierceness of his Spirit was daily more exasperated by the pinching Straitness of his Circumstances, and the Conscience of his Crimes. The general Corruption of Manners in the City appeared to spread the Sails of his Ambition, ministering great Encouragement to his Hopes: For it is doubtful whether Luxury or Covetousness was the more prevailing Evil of those Days. Wherefore he contracted a Familiarity with all the Rakes and Bullies of the Town, which was no hard Matter to do, and they became his Guards. Whoremongers, Adulterers, Gluttons, Shop-lifters, Spend-thrifts, and such as had contracted great Debts to skreen themselves from penal Judgments,

Judgments, Parricides, sacrilegious Persons, condemned Criminals, and such as by their Actions were obnoxious to capital Punishments; such as lived by Robbery, Lying, preying upon the Blood of their Countrymen; and such as were discontented by Wickedness, Poverty or a guilty Conscience: All these became his dear Friends and faithful Confederates. If an innocent Person fell into his Acquaintance, by a little Familiarity he was soon leavened into the same Likeness. He mainly sought after young Men, as who by the Softness, Levity and Unwariness of their Minds were ready to come into the Share sometimes upon very slender Invitation. Some he help'd to Whores, others to Dogs, others to Horses, as he saw the Bent of their Inclinations lay, sparing neither Cost nor Pains, provided he could but get them heartily to embark in the Design. He had corrupted not only a noble Virgin, but also the Priestess of *Vesta*, a long Time ago in his Youth, besides a great many more very violent Inroachments upon the Rights both of God and Man. Lastly, he fell in Love with *Aurelia Orsilla*, of whom no honest Man ever commended any Thing but her Beauty. It is certain he kill'd his own Son at Man's

B 2 Estate,

Estate, to take off her Objection against the Match ; which, in the Opinion of *Sallust*, hastened the Conspiracy : For his impure Mind was never at rest sleeping nor waking, his Conscience did so fly in his Face. His Colour was pale, his Eyes unsettled, his Gate sometimes frightened quick, sometimes pensive slow ; his Countenance betrayed the growing Disorder of his Mind. If a Man wanted False Witnesses he could provide him at any Time. Honesty, Money, Dangers were mere Trifles with him. He abounded with Expedients to spread Wickedness amongst the Youth : As they lost their Modesty and sunk their Reputation gradually, so he daily encouraged them in more villanous Exploits. If he could come at none that were disaffected to his Person or Interests, he would set his Confederates upon circumventing or murdering such as bore him no Ill-will, least their Spirits should sink or flag for want of Exercise. His Debts were great in all Countries : The Soldiers of *Sulla*, such especially as had spent what they got, being mindful of their former Spoils and Victories, desired a Civil War. There was no Army in *Italy*, *Pompey* was in *Asia* at the Head of the Army against *Mithridates* : He himself was in great
 Hopes

Hopes of the Consulship; the Senate was very negligent; all Things were safe and quiet: Which concurring Circumstances seem'd to minister a seasonable Opportunity to his Enterprize. Wherefore about the beginning of *June*, in the Consulship of *Cæsar* and *C. Figulus*, he address'd himself to his Friends singly, exhorting some, pumping others, pointing to his own Power, the secure and wretched State of the Administration, the great Rewards which must of Course attend the Success of the Undertaking. And when he saw the Field fair he call'd together the boldest Spirits, and them in whom he had the greatest Confidence: There met him of the Senatorian Order, *P. Lentulus Sura*, *P. Autronius*, *L. Cassius Longinus*, *C. Cethegus*, *P. and Serv. the Sons of Sulla*, *L. Vargunteius*, *Q. Annius*, *M. Porcius Læca*, *L. Bestia*, *Q. Curius*, of the Equestrian Order, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *L. Statilius*, *P. Gabinius Capito*, *C. Cornelius*, and besides these from the Colonies and Hans-towns many that made no small Figure at Home. There were also many private Partakers with him, that were not driven to it by Want or Necessity, but encouraged by the Prospect of enlarging their Power, and lording it over their Enemies. The Youth

The Roman Conduct

in general favoured his Enterprize, especially they of the Senatorian Order: And even those who enjoyed themselves in Plenty, Ease and Splendor were more inclinable to pursue their uncertain Hopes than continue their incontestable Possessions, and loved War rather than Peace. Some believed, that *M. Licinius Crassus* was not quite a Stranger to these Measures, because *Cn. Pompeius*, whom he hated, being at the Head of a great Army, he was willing to see any upstart Power that might be a Ballance to his, presuming at the same Time if the Conspiracy took Place he should easily put himself at the Head of it.

When *Catiline* had got his Friends above-named about him, he retired into an inner Room, and spoke to them in this Manner.

*Catiline's
Oration to
his Confe-
derates.*

‘ Were I not perfectly satisfied both
‘ of your Worth and Valour, a no-
‘ ble Opportunity might be lost; a so-
‘ lid Prospect of Power put in our Hands
‘ to no Purpose: I am not one that catch
‘ at Shadows. But because in many and
‘ great Instances I have found you brave
‘ and faithful to me; for that Reason I have
‘ had the Courage to put Hand to a very
‘ great

in quashing Catiline's Conspiracy.

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great and noble Enterprize, and the
rather because our Gain and Loss, our
Hopes and Fears are all the same, for
undoubtedly to love and hate the same
thing is the most lasting Friendship. I have
discourged you all singly concerning what
I have in View. And my Heart is still
more inflamed when I consider what
a Life we must lead unless we assert
our Liberty. For since a few great
ones have got the Power into their
Hands, they have had always Kings
and Tetrarchs their Tributaries; Na-
tions and Provinces have paid them a
private Revenue: All we brave Fel-
lows, noble and ignoble, have been a de-
spicable Mob in their Eyes, without
Favour, without Authority, obnoxious
to them, to whom, if the Administra-
tion had run in the true Channel, we
ought to have been a Terror. So that
all Favour, Power, Wealth and Ho-
nour are in their Hands, or where they
think fit to place them; to us they
have left Dangers, Repulses, Judgments,
Poverty. Which how long will ye en-
dure, O ye valiant Men? Is it not bet-
ter to dye an honourable Death than
lead an inglorious Life, in which a
Man must needs be made the May-
Game of their Pride and Vanity? But

‘ if any Thing be certain we are sure of
‘ Victory; both Youth and Valour are
‘ on our Side, they have lost the Relish
‘ of the Pleasures in which they swelter
‘ by Reason of Old Age. We want no-
‘ thing but a Beginning; when once our
‘ Hand is in, Circumstances will minister
‘ Direction, the Way will open to us of
‘ Course. What Mortal of a manly Spi-
‘ rit can bear it? To see them abound in
‘ Riches, which they fling out in build-
‘ ing upon the Sea and levelling Moun-
‘ tains, when we can hardly get Bread
‘ to eat. They join House to House, we
‘ can have no Home to come to: They
‘ buy fine Things, they dislike them,
‘ they take them asunder that they may
‘ make them up another Way: Lastly, by
‘ all Expedients they draw Money into
‘ their Treasures that they may toss it
‘ about: And for all their Lusts are un-
‘ bounded, yet are they far from exhaust-
‘ ing their Riches. But we find Pinch-
‘ ing at home, Debt and Danger abroad,
‘ a bad State and no better Hope. Lastly,
‘ There is nothing left to us but this mi-
‘ serable Life; will ye not therefore
‘ awake? Lo! there, there is that Li-
‘ berty ye have often wish’d for; ye have
‘ moreover Riches, Honour and Glory
‘ before your Eyes. Fortune hath made
‘ all

all these Things the Rewards of Valour.
The Case, the Time, your Dangers,
your Poverty, the rich Spoils of War
speak more powerfully than I can.
Make use of me as Soldier, or
General, or what you please, my
Heart and Hand shall be with you: I
hope I shall treat of these Things when
I am Consul, unless my Thoughts mis-
lead me, and ye are more willing to
be in Bondage than Command.

These Things could not but take with
Men surrounded with Evils, having nei-
ther present Subsistence, nor future Hope:
And though the very Thoughts of ma-
king Disturbance tickled them, yet the
greater Part desired him to explain what
kind of War it should be, what they
should propose to themselves, what Help
and Hope they had in remote Parts. He
promised them their Debts should be
freely discharged by Order of Law, a
Thing that had been sometimes done
when the *Plebeians* complain'd of the U-
sury and Oppression of the Senators: That
the rich Men should be proscribed, their
Estates forfeited and divided among them;
that they should have Preferments in the
Government; Priesthoods, and a great
Latitude to lay their Hands on what they
had

had a Mind to ; and all other Privileges to which War and Victory intitled them. That he had *Piso* in the nearer *Spain*, *P. Silius Nucerinus* with an Army in *Mauritania*, Partakers of his Measures : That *C. Antonius* would join with him, his intimate Friend, who was about to stand Candidate with him for the Consulship, with whom he would concert Measures of future Management ; at the same Time bespattering all good Men, and praising his Confederates, telling one of his Necessity, another of what he earnestly desired, many of the Shame and Danger they must undergo if they halted ; many also of the Victory of *Sulla*, and the Numbers that were Gainers by it. And perceiving them all to be hearty and chearful in the Matter, he dismiss'd them, desiring they would make what Votes they could for him in order to the Consulship. Some report that he took an Oath of them, making them drink Humane Blood mix'd with Wine as a Seal of Secrecy and Resolution in what they intended. And this was done in Imitation of the solemn yearly Sacrifices, wherein it was Customary for the Priest before he poured the Wine betwixt the Horns of the Sacrifice, to drink a little of it himself, and make the By-standers drink round.

round. Others thought this was invented by *Cicero's* Friends, apprehending that the aggravating of their Crime was a good Expedient to alleviate or take off the Envy which was raised against him on Account of their Punishment. *Salust* saith he has not Evidence enough to bear him out in affirming so material a Circumstance.

There was one *Q. Curius*, a very sad Fellow, whom the Censors had expelled the Senate for Misdemeanours and dishonourable Actions. He was so far from being able to conceal what he heard that he could not keep his own Secrets, mattering neither what he did nor what he said. This Man among others was in the Conspiracy with *Catiline*. He had an old Mistress called *Fulvia*, a Noblewoman. When she began to undervalue him, because he had not wherewithal to supply her as he did at the beginning, he would strut and boast mightily, promising very great Things, and threatening also if she would not submit. But *Fulvia* having pump'd out the Cause of his Insolence, did not think fit to conceal the Danger of the Commonwealth; but told very many what she had heard concerning *Catiline's* Conspiracy, without mentioning her Author. This very Thing disposed

disposed the Minds of Men to confer the Consulship upon *M. Tullius Cicero*. Before that Time the Nobility considered him as an Upstart, and in that respect unworthy of that Honour, tho' he was a very notable Man. But seeing the real Danger, they found it adviseable to smother their Pride and Envy. When the People assembled for that Purpose, *M. Tullius* and *Antonius* were declared Consuls, which was the first Mortification to the Conspirators. Nevertheless the Rage of *Catiline* was not in the least abated; he was upon new Expedients every Day, preparing Arms in all convenient Places in *Italy*, raising Money upon his own and his Friends Credit, to send to one *Mallius* at *Fesula* (a Town of *Tuscany* near Mount *Appenine*) who afterwards began the War. He is said at that Time to have drawn into his Party a great many of all Sorts of Men; a pretty many Women also of the forecasten Whores, who by the Decay of their Trade, through Age were very much in Debt. By these he proposed to himself two Things, first, either by their Means to get in their Lovers, or to murder them. Again, he looked upon them as the fittest Persons to engage the Slaves to set the Town on Fire, that he might perform his Exploits with

with greater Safety in the general Confusion. Among these was *Sempronia* a Woman of Masculine Boldness, fortunate in Parentage, Beauty, Husband and Children, well skill'd both in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongue, and a better Dancer than a virtuous Woman should be: She valued any Thing more than her Honour. And it is not an easy Matter to determine whether she was more prodigal of her Money or her Reputation; so lustful that sometimes she tendered her Favours before they were asked: She had forswore her Debts, betrayed her Trust, and been concerned in Murder before this Time. Nevertheless her Company was very entertaining; she could make Verses, move Laughter, and accommodate her self to all Occasions, personating the modest Woman, the Lady or the Scold, just as she thought the Circumstances invited. Things being at this pass, *Catiline* nevertheless made Interest for the Consulship the ensuing Year, hoping if he carried it that he should easily bring *Antonius* into his Measures; neither in the mean Time was he at rest, but by all Means possible contriving how *Cicero* might be assassinated, who upon the other hand was as much upon his Guard: For by Promises to *Q. Curius*, transmitted by
Fulvia,

Fulvia, he got him to become a Spy upon *Catiline's* Counsels. And as to his Colleague *Antonius*, he kept him in the Interest of the Commonwealth, by resigning to him the rich Province of *Macedonia*, which of course belonged to himself, taking also a great deal of Care to keep his Friends and his Dependants about him. But when the Election came on, *Catiline* finding himself disappointed both as to the Consulship and the Assassination of *Cicero*, resolved upon the War: And therefore sent *Mallius* to *Fesula*, and that Part of *Etruria*; *Septimius Camertes* to *Picenum*, *C. Julius* to *Apulia*, and others to other Places as he thought convenient. In the mean Time he had many Irons in the Fire at *Rome* to assassinate the Consul, to set the City on Fire, to fill the proper Places with armed Men, to go about armed himself, and to persuade others to do in like manner, and to exhort them to be earnest and intent on what they had in Hand. At last, when after much Labour, Watching and Application he could not bring Things to bear, he call'd the chief of his Confederates together a second Time at the House of *M. Porcius Lucius* very late at Night. And there complaining much of their Silliness, he told them how he had sent *Mallius* before

before him to that Multitude whom he had prepared to take Arms, and others to other proper Places to begin the War, and that he desired to be with the Army if he could get *Cicero* first dispatch'd, the only Person that stood in his Way. When the rest were frighted and doubtful, *C. Cornelius* a Roman Knight, and *L. Vargunteius* a Senator undertook the Exploit. It was resolved they shou'd go to his House that Night, or betimes in the Morning, with an How-d'ye, and murder him upon the Spot: But *Curius* with all haste privately acquainted the Consul of the Resolution by *Fulvia*, who accordingly by securing his Gates, and denying them Entrance, declined the Danger. In the mean Time *Mallius* was very busy in *Etruria*, persuading the People to take Arms, who were of themselves no doubt desirous of Changes, by reason of the Forfeitures they had underwent through the Tyranny of *Sulla*. There being also in that Country Variety of Robbers of all Sorts, and many of the Soldiers of *Sulla*, amongst whom he had divided the Lands of the *Etrurians*, who by Wastefulness and Luxury were come to Poverty. When *Cicero* was acquainted with these Things he was in great Anxiety, not being able

*Cicero
makes them
both
Knights.*

to

to protect the Commonwealth by his single Councils, nor to fathom either the Strength or Designs of *Mallius* and his Army. Wherefore he referred the Matter to the Senate, which had been already very much in the Mouths of the People. The Senate, as their Custom was in dangerous Cases, decreed, That the Consuls should take Care of the Commonwealth. This was the greatest Power the *Romans* used to confer upon the chief Magistrate, including the raising of an Army, carrying on War, governing both Citizens and Allies, investing them with a Kind of Sovereignty both over the City and the Army; none of all which they could do without special Authority from the People. In a few Days thereafter *L. Senius* a Senator read a Letter in the Senate, writ to him from *Fesula*, containing an Account of *Mallius's* rising in Arms with a great Multitude about the 27th of *October*. Others also told such strange Things as use to be reported on such Occasions; that there were seditious Assemblies, and Arms carried about in *Capua*, and that the Slaves were arming in *Apulia*. Wherefore by a Decree of the Senate *Q. Martius Rex* is sent to *Fesula*, *Q. Metellus Creticus* into *Apulia*, and the Places adjoining. The Prætors *Q. Pompeius*

Peius Rufus to *Capua*, *Q. Metellus Celer* to *Picenum*, with Authority to raise an Army as the Matter should require. Proclamation also was made, That any Slave discovering the Conspiracy should have his Liberty and an hundred Sesterces, any Freeman should have his Pardon and Two hundred. It was further decreed, That the Families of Gladiators should be sent to *Capua*, and other Hans-Towns; that there should be Watches set all over the City under the Direction of the lesser Magistrates: Whereby the Face of the City was very much altered from that Joy and Chearfulness which Peace and Quietness had brought forth, into Melancholy and Discomposure; hasting from Place to Place, as neither knowing whom to trust, nor where to be safe. And though the War was not commenced amongst them, yet had they no Peace, every one measured not his Fears by his Danger, but his Danger by his Fears. The Ladies afflicted themselves, holding up their Hands to Heaven, bemoaning their little Children, asking, doubting, fearing all Things; neither relishing the Delicacies of their Table, nor the Imbellishments of their Beauty. The fierce Mind of *Catiline* was not daunted with all this: He pursued his Design still, though he saw
C them

them arming against him; and though he was question'd by *L. Paulus* upon the *Plantian Law*, which had been made some fifteen Years before, concerning them that conspired against the Senate, the Magistrates, or private Men. Lastly, he appeared in the Senate assembled in the Temple of *Jupiter Stator*, as it were to purge himself of such groundless Aspersions as had been maliciously thrown upon him. Where *Tullius* the Consul under no small Anxiety of Mind made a very eloquent, judicious and useful Speech to the Effect following.

*Tully's first
Oration
against
Catiline,
delivered in
the Senate.*

How long, O *Catiline*, will ye abuse our Patience? How long shall we be the May-Game of your Fury? To what purpose shall unbridled Boldness boast it self? The Garrison in the Palace, the Watch in the City, the Fear and Confusion among the People, the Consent of all good Men, condemning you as guilty, the Senate held in this fortified Place, the Faces and Countenance of the Senators, these Things don't move you. D'ye think your Councils are not laid open? D'ye pretend not to know that we are all sensible of your Conspiracy? What ye did the last Night, what ye did the Night before, where ye were, whom ye assembled,

bled, what Measures ye resolved upon, who d'ye think amongst us but knoweth? O Times! O Manners! The Senate understands this, the Consul seeth it; nevertheless he liveth here: he liveth: nay, he appears in the Senate, and shares in the publick Councils, he marks and points us out every one to Destruction. We innocently think we do our Country good Service, if we do but escape the Weapons of his Rage and Fury. Ye thought, Sir, to have been brought out to execution before this Time by my Order: We should have brought that Destruction upon you which you have been this long Time contriving against us all. Did the noble *P. Scipio* the High Priest, being a private Man, kill *Tib. Gracchus*, upon Suspicion of a Design against the Establishment; and shall we the Consuls fear with *Catiline* thirsting after the Destruction of Mankind with Fire and sword? Not to mention that more ancient Precedent, how *Q. Servilius Ahala* killed *Spurius Melius* upon the like Suspicion. There was anciently in this Nation such a Zeal as made the Resentments of Men of Honour higher against a pernicious Patriot than against a foreign Enemy. For we have an Act of Senate

G 2

against

Tib. Gracchus was suspected to aspire to the Sovereignty by Reason of a Dole of Corn he gave to the People. Servilius did the same Thing by Sp. Melius, who at the same Time also was denying his Obedience to the Dictator. Ann. urb. Cond. 315. See Liv. Book IV.

againſt you, ſharp and weighty : There is no want of Council in the People, nor Authority in the Senate to do your Buſineſs : We, I ſpeak plainly, we the Conſuls are wanting in our Duty. The Senate anciently decreed, That *L. Opimius* the Conſul ſhould take Care of the Commonwealth ; that very Day *C. Gracchus* was ſlain upon ſome Suſpicion of ill Deſigns, tho' he was deſcended of a very noble Father and greater Anceſtors : *M. Fulvius* alſo and his two Sons were put to Death upon the ſame Score. By the like Act of Senate the Care of the Commonwealth was committed to *C. Marius* and *L. Valerius* the Conſuls. One Day did not paſs 'till *L. Saturninus* Tribune of the *Plebeians*, and *C. Servilius* had their Deſerts. But this is now the 20th Day ſince the Authority of the Senate has been cooling, evaporating and loſing its Strength. We have the ſame Act of Senate againſt you, but it is ſhut up in the Record, like a Sword in its Sheath by which Act of Senate, O *Catiline*, you ought immediately to die : Yet you live, you live not to melt into Good-nature and Softneſs of Temper, but to increaſe in Boldneſs.

2. I wish, my Lords, I could be merciful and unconcerned in these great Dangers of the Commonwealth; but as things stand, I blame my self very much for my Negligence. There is an Army in *Italy* against the Commonwealth, in the very Entrance of *Etruria*; their Numbers increase daily, their Captain is within the Walls, he is in the Senate, driving on our Destruction in our very Bowels. If I should command you, *Catiline*, to be immediately seized and put to Death, I believe more good Men will censure my Slowness, than accuse me of Cruelty. There is a certain Reason that hinders me from doing what ought to have been done a long Time ago: Then will I pass Sentence upon you when there is none to be found so wicked, so profligate, so like to you, as not to acknowledge ye have justly deserved it: Ye shall live so long as there is any one that dare defend you: Ye shall live as ye live now, besieged by my strong Guards; by reason of which ye shall not be able to move against the Commonwealth. And the Eyes and Ears of many shall watch and observe you, as they have done hitherto, while ye knew nothing of the Matter; for what can ye expect, *Catiline*, since neither the Darkness of the Night, nor the

Walls of a private House can cover or conceal your Conspiracy? Since the whole Matter breaks out, since it's quite unfolded, change now you Mind; believe me; lay aside the Thoughts of Fire and Sword; you're catch'd on all Hands; the Light is not so clear as your Councils are to us. Don't ye remember, on the 20th of *October* I said in the Senate, that before the 25th of the same Month, *Mallius* your Confederate, would be in Arms? Did he deceive me, *Catiline*? Did he not make good that so great, so cruel, so incredible a Thing to a Day? Did not I say at the same Time that you had set the Day for the Slaughter of the Nobility to be before the 28th of the same Month, when many of them made off from *Rome*, not so much for their own Preservation, as that they might counter your Measures? Can ye deny, that on that very Day ye were so block'd up by my Diligence and the Guards I had upon you, that ye were not able to move one Foot against the Commonwealth? Upon the going away of the rest, ye said you would be content with the Slaughter of us that remain'd: What! when ye were confident that ye could seize *Præneste* by Force in the Night, did ye not find it guarded and fortified by my Procurement?

Ye

Ye do, ye attempt, ye think nothing,
but what I hear, nay perfectly see
and understand: Pray recollect with
me what past the last Night, and ye may
be convinced that I am more watchful for
the Preservation of my Country, than
ye are for the Destruction of it. I say,
ye were Yesternight at *M. Leca's* House,
with a great many Cut-Throats, Par-
takers of the same Wickedness with you;
are ye deny it? Why are ye silent? I
can prove it if there be occasion. For I
see here some present in the Senate that
were with you. O ye immortal Gods!
in what Place of the World are we?
What Kind of Commonwealth have we?
in what City do we live? Here, here
they are amongst us, my Lords. In this
most sacred and gravest Assembly in the
World; they are hatching a Design
of destroying me, and you all, and this
City, and consequently the whole World.
The Consul see them, and am asking
your Sentiments concerning the State of
the Commonwealth; and I have not yet
said one harsh Word upon them, who
deserve to be put to Death: Ye were with
Leca, Catiline, last Night; ye divided
Italy into Parts; ye settled the Place to
which every one should go; ye made
choice of such as were fit to be left at

Rome, and such as should go along with you: Ye described the Streets and Parts of the City, condemning them in the most regular Method to the Flames; ye assured them ye were ready to go, only ye must stay a little 'till I were dispatch'd. There were two Gentlemen that took upon them to ease you of that Care, promising to dispatch me in my Bed a little before Day. Ye had scarcely well dismiss'd your Assembly when I understood all this: I fortified my House, secured my Gates, and denied them Entrance that were to bring your Compliments in the Morning: The very Men, as I had told my Friends, came at the very Instant of Time in which I expected them. The Things then being so, go on according to your Resolution; get you out of the City; the Gates are open; pray begone *Mallius* and the Army wait for their General. Pray take along with you all your Friends, at least the greatest Part of them; purg the City; I shall be free from a great Deal of Anxiety when the Walls are betwixt you and me: Ye must be no longer amongst us; I can't bear it, I won't suffer it, it shan't be permitted. We are infinitely obliged to the immortal Gods, particularly to *Jupiter Stator*, the most ancient Patron of this City, that

we have so often escaped this so vile, so horrible, so cruel a Plague of the Common-wealth, We are not to suffer one and the same Person to make Variety of Attempts upon the Life and Being of the Nation. How many Ambuscades did you lay for me when I stood Candidate for the Consulship? I defended my self, not by any Protection from the Government, but my private Diligence. When immediately after the Election ye were for murdering me and your Competitors in the Field, I bore down your hellish Enterprize by the Strength and Assistance of my Friends, without much Tumult: And whenever ye assaulted me I withstood you with my own Strength, though I saw my Destruction must be inseparably attended with a publick Calamity. Now ye openly assault the whole Common-wealth, the Temples of the immortal Gods, the Buildings of the City, the Lives of our Countrymen in general; lastly, ye are calling down Desolation and Destruction upon all *Italy*.

Catiline
had been in
another
Conspiracy
before this.

3. Wherefore, because I dare not do what the Grandeur of the Empire, and the Discipline of our Ancestors requires, I shall do what is less severe and more useful to the Common Safety. For if I command you to be put to Death, your Confederates

federates are like to remain amongst us ; but if ye go, as I advise you, the great Sink of your Companions, so pernicious to the Commonwealth shall be cleansed, and the Filth of it removed from the City. How stands it, *Catiline*? d'ye pause about doing, when I command what ye were about to do of your own accord? The Consul commands the Enemy to be gone from the City: Ye ask, would I have you go into Banishment? I don't command, but if you'll take my Opinion, I advise you so to do. For what is there in this City that can give you any Satisfaction, in which there is none, besides the Confederates of your Conspiracy, but what are afraid of you, and hate you? What Mark of Domestick Baseness is not stamp'd upon your Life? What private Disgrace does not cleave to your Infamy? What Lust has not lodged in your Eyes? What Prank has not wrangled in your Hands? What Wickedness has been a Stranger to your Body? Of all them that have been entangled in the Nets of your Corruption, whom have ye not led on to Boldness, Slaughter or Lust? When lately, upon the Death of your former Wife, ye emptied your House to make room for a second Marriage, did ye not heap another Wickedness upon the Back
of

of that? which I shall pass over in Silence, lest I should bring Dishonour upon this City, that such Abomination should be committed in it, or being committed, that it was not punished. I pass over the Ruin of your Fortune, which you'll feel before the 13th of the next Month. I come to these Things which belong not to the private Ignominy of your Vices, nor your Domestick Baseness and Impurity; but to the good of the Commonwealth, the Lives and Safeties of us all. Can the Light of this Life, or the breathing of this Air, be pleasant to you, since ye are sensible there is none of this Order but knows when you stood with a Sword * in the Place of the Assembly, upon the last of *December*, in the Consulship of *Lepidus* and *Tullus*, and had prepared a Band of Men to murder the Consuls, and the chief Men of the City? that it was no Remorse, nor Fear in you, that prevented the Execution, but the Fortune of the Commonwealth. I shall pass over these Things, which are well known, and followed not long after. How often have ye endeavoured to murder me when I was Candidate, and since I have been Consul? How many of your Assaults, which seemed unavoidable, have I declined as it were with a little Bending of

This was the usual Term for Payment of Interest, and distraining the Goods of such as could not pay.

** It was not lawful to bring any Weapon to the Place of Election, the Forum, or the Senate-House.*

*The Knives
with which
the Sacrifi-
ces were
killed, were
consecrated,
and separa-
ted from
common
Use.*

of my Body? Ye do nothing, ye attain to nothing, ye attempt nothing that ye can conceal from me, even when ye are about it; and yet still there is no End of your Treasons. How often now, how often pray has the murdering Weapon been wrested out of your Hands? How often has it slip'd out, and fallen to the Ground by Chance? But ye can't be long without it. I wonder with what Spells or Conjurations ye have consecrated it, that ye intend to fix it in the Consul's Body. Pray, what Life is it you lead? For now, I'll speak to you, not as one inflamed with that Hatred which ye deserve, but as one moved with Pity, to which you are no way intitled. Ye came just now to the Senate; who of this great Assembly, of all your Friends and Acquaintance, took you by the Hand, saluted you, or spoke to you? The like has not happened in the Memory of Man. D'ye stay 'till they attack you with reproachful Words, when ye are, as it were, judicially condemned by their Silence? How came the Benches empty upon your approach? How came they that have been Consuls before me, whom ye have often allotted to Destruction, rather to leave their Places than to sit near you? Pray, how d'ye consider this? In-
deed,

deed, if my Servants were afraid of me as your Countrymen are of you, I should think I ought to leave my House. Don't you think ye should take leave of the City? And if I saw my self unjustly suspected by my Countrymen, and look'd upon as an Enemy, I had rather take leave of them, than have them all stare at me as an Offender. When the Conscience of your Guilt tells you the Justice of their long deserved Hatred, ye make it a Question, whether ye should withdraw from them, to whose Minds and Senses your Presence is as Wounds. If your Parents fear'd and hated you, and ye could by no means appease them, one would think ye should keep out of their sight. Now your Country, which is the common Parent of us all, fears and hates you, and believes you to think of nothing but her Destruction. Will ye neither reverence her Authority, follow her Judgment, nor be afraid of her Power? Which, *Catiline*, tho' ye will not hear her Voice, treateth with you, as it were, in this manner: There has been no Prank for so many Years but you have had an hand in it: No Wickedness committed without you: Ye are the only Man in whom the Death of your Countrymen, the Vexation and Robbery of our Allies has been unpunished.

Ye

Ye are not only above Laws and Judgments, but have been able to overturn and break them to Pieces. Tho' these Things were unsufferable, yet I have born them as I was able. Now I am wholly in dread of you only ; whatever the Noise be, *Catiline* is the Fear. No Conspiracy can be contrived against me, but ye have Wickedness and Cruelty enough to pursue it. It is not to be born ; wherefore begone, and rid me of this Fear : If it is just, least I be oppress'd ; if it is imaginary, at least that I may be easy. If your Country speaketh to you in this Manner, ought she not to obtain what she requireth, even though she is not in a Condition to exert her self against you ? What signifies it that ye have offered your self to Custody ? What signifies it, that to make your self unsuspected, ye said you would live with *M. Lepidus* ? And when he would not receive you, ye had the Assurance to offer your self to me, and to desire that I might keep you at my House ? When I had answered, that I did not think it safe to be in one House with you, because I found my self in great Danger by our being in one City together, ye came to *Q. Metellus* the Prætor ; by whom after ye were rejected, ye came to your old Friend *M. Marcellus*,

Marcellus, who ye thought would be very diligent to watch, prudent to observe, and valiant to be avenged of ye, if there were occasion. And who doubts, but he deserves Bonds and Imprisonment, who hath judged himself fit to be put in Custody?

4. Seeing then these Things are so, *Catiline*, if ye cannot die in Peace here, d'ye make a Doubt of committing that Life to Solitude and Retirement, which has been snatch'd away from so many just and deserved Punishments? Ye say, Refer my Case to the Senate *, for that is what ye desire; d'ye affirm if they should pass Sentence of Banishment upon you, that ye will obey? That is what I hate to do †; yet ye shall plainly understand their Sentiments in the Case. *Go from the City, Catiline, deliver the Commonwealth from her Fears; go into Banishment*: If these be the Words ye wait for, *be gone*. What d'ye think o'nt, *Catiline*? D'ye mind, d'ye observe their Silence? They suffer it, they are silent. Why d'ye wait for the Authority of their Words, when ye perceive their Mind by their Silence? If I had said the like Words to this excellent young Man *P. Sextius*, or to the brave *Marcellus*, the Senate would deservedly have laid violent Hands upon

* There was no Act of Senate made when the Case was put by the Consul.

† Because he thought it a wiser and gentler Method only to advise him to be gone.

upon me the Consul in this very Temple. But as for you, *Catiline*, when they say nothing, they approve ; when they suffer me to speak, they give Sentence against you ; when they are silent, they proclaim the Justice of what I say. Nor is this the Sense of them only, whose Authority ye pretend to reverence, while ye would cut their Throats ; but also of those *Roman* Knights, worthy honest Gentlemen, and the rest of the brave *Romans* that stand around the Senate ; whose Numbers you see, whose Inclinations ye perceive, and whose Words ye might have heard just now, from whose Hands and Swords I have had much to do to protect you. I shall easily persuade them to attend you to the Gates of the City, which ye have been so long endeavouring to destroy : Although, why do I speak ? Can any Thing bend you ? Can ye ever amend ? Can flying enter into your Mind ? Can ye think of Banishment ? I wish the immortal Gods would give you such a Sense of Things. Although, if my Words should frighten you into Banishment, I foresee what a Storm of Envy hangs over my Head, not at this present, when your Crimes are fresh in Memory, but sometime hereafter, when the Aggravations of them are

are forgotten. But do I value that so much, provided the Commonwealth be safe? That ye should be affected with the sense of your Crimes; that ye should be afraid of the Punishments of the Law; that ye should accommodate your self to the present Exigencies of the Commonwealth, these are Things not to be expected. For, *Catiline*, ye are not such a Man as ever Shame could restrain from Rashness, Fear from Danger, or Reason from Rage and Madness. Wherefore, as I have said already, let me desire you to be gone: And if ye have a Mind to stir up Envy against me your Enemy, as ye call me, pray go straight into Banishment. How unkindly will Men speak of me if ye do? I shall not be able to bear that vast Load of Envy that will fall to my share, if you go into Banishment by the positive Order of the Consul. But if ye had rather favour my Praise and Glory, go of your own accord with your Band of Ruffians: Make haste to *Mallius*, animate your wicked Countrymen, separate your self from good Men, make War upon your Country, rejoice in the Wickedness of your Robbery, that the World may not think that I have thrown you out among Strangers, but to have gone upon Invitation to your Friends. But

D

what

* Ensign of
a Legion.

what need I persuade you when I know ye sent them before, that they might wait for you in Arms at *Forum Aurelium*? When I know ye have appointed a Day with *Malivus*? When I know ye have sent the Silver Eagle * before you, which I hope, will be the Ruin of you and your Confederates, to which ye allotted a Chapel in your House, that ye might consecrate your Wickedness? How can ye bear to be at any Distance from it, being accustomed to pay your Devotions to it before ye went out to murder? From whose Altar ye have often moved your wicked Right Hand unto the Slaughter of your Countrymen. Ye will go at length whither your unbridled Lust has been along Time hurrying you. Nature has brought you forth, your Inclinations have exercised, your Fortune has preserved you to this Madness. Ye never delighted in Peace and Quietness, no, nor in any War but what was villanous and unjust. Ye have got a Band of wicked hopeles Wretches. What Enjoyment can ye have here? what will awaken your Genius? what Pleasure will ye have in your Revels? when ye can neither see, nor hear an honest Man in your whole Confederacy. Your famous Practice is to lie in wait for Adultery, to watch not only for the Sleep of
the

the Husbands, but also for the Spoils of the Slain. Ye have your Times wherein ye boast your self of your Ability, to bear Hunger, Cold, and Want of all Things; but these Things will meet with you at length. When I disappointed you of your Election I gain'd some Ground in favour of my Country; namely, that ye should rather trouble it as a Rebel, than vex it as a Consul: And that what ye had wickedly undertaken should be called Robbery, not War.

5. Now, my Lords, That ye may be reconciled to my Proceedings, let me entreat you to consider what I am saying, and treasure it up in your Minds. For if my Country, which is much dearer to me than my Life, if all *Italy*, if the whole Commonwealth should say, *M. Tully* what d'ye do? Will ye suffer him to begone, and let him loose upon your Country, whom ye have found an Enemy, whom ye see to be the Head of the ensuing War, whom the Camp of the Enemy expects as their General; the Contriver of the Wickedness, the chief of the Conspirators, the Person that calls out the Slaves and wicked Citizens to rise up against us? Won't ye command him to be put in Chains, to be hawl'd to Execution, to be hang'd,

hang'd, drawn and quarter'd? What stands in your Way? Is there not Law and Presidents to justify it? Nay, private Persons have many Times stretched out their Hands against Movers of Sedition. Do the Laws tye up your Hands which were made concerning the Punishment of *Roman* Citizens? But in this City such as revolt from the Constitution, have always been understood to have lost the Privilege of Citizens. Are ye afraid of the Envy of Posterity? The People of *Rome* are obliged to you indeed, who have exalted you so quickly to the Height of Power, through all the Degrees of Honour, having no Pedegree to recommend you: And ye are so fearful of Envy or any Danger, as to neglect the Safety of your Countrymen. But is the Envy and Hatred that attends Justice and Fortitude more to be feared than that which of Right belongs to Cowardice and Knavery? When *Italy* shall be wast-ed, the Cities vexed, and the Houses on Fire, d'ye think that Hatred and Envy will not arise against you, like the Smoak of a Furnace? To these venerable Expressions of the Commonwealth, and the Gentlemen that are of the same Opinion, I shall answer a few Things. If I thought it advisable, my Lords, to put *Cailline*

to Death, I would not give that Murderer one Hour to live. For if it was so far from Disgrace as to be accounted a great Honour to these noble Patriots that killed *Saturninus*, the *Gracchi*, the *Flacci*, and several others; have I any Reason to be afraid of the Resentment of Posterity in putting this Parricide to Death? And if I were in the greatest Danger that way, it has always been my Opinion, that the Envy which attendeth Virtue is the greatest Glory. Although there be some amongst us that either see not the Danger we are in, or make as if they understood it not; who have cherished the Hopes of *Catiline* by the Gentleness of their Censures, and have very much strengthened the Conspiracy by not believing it: Very many following their Judgment, not only wickedly but also for want of Penetration; who, if I had punished this Man, would have charged me with Cruelty and Arbitrary Proceeding. Now, I believe, if that Gentleman goes to *Mallius*, whither without Doubt his Intentions are bent, I hope there will be no Man so stupid as not to be satisfied of the Conspiracy; none so impudent as not to confess it. And if I put this Man to Death it will but suspend a little, not deliver us from the Plague. If

I think it's not impertinent to remember the L. B — k here.

he throw himself out of his own accord, and carry his Confederates with him, together with all the Rakes and Bullies of the Town, not only shall this full ripen'd Plague be extinguish'd, but also the very Root and Seed of all our Political Distempers. It is no small Time, my Lords, since this Conspiracy has been hatching; but I know not how it comes to pass, that the Growth and Strength of it has broke out in my Consulship. If I take off this Man from a Conspiracy wherein so many are concerned, we might perhaps seem eased from Anxiety and Danger for some little Time; but the Danger will remain shut up in the very Reins and Bowels of the Commonwealth. As one in the Rage of a Feaver, who is somewhat refreshed by drinking cold Water, but a little Time after is much worse than he was before; so the Disease of the Commonwealth may be cured by this Man's Punishment, but will return more violent if his Confederates are left alive.

6. Wherefore, my Lords, may the Wicked begone, may they separate themselves from good Men, may they be gathered together into one Place; and, as I have often said, may the City Walls be betwixt us and them. Their Business is to assassinate the Consul in his own House,
to

to surround the Prætor's Tribunal, to besiege the Senate-House with armed Force, to provide Bombs and Firebrands to set the City on Fire: Wherefore let every Man's Opinion concerning the Commonwealth be written on his Forehead. I'll promise you, my Lords, there is so much Care and Diligence in us the Consuls, so much Authority in you, so much Valour in the *Roman* Knights, such a right Understanding among all honest Men, that by *Catiline's* going away ye shall see all Things laid open, all Things made plain, all ill Designs oppressed and revenged. May ye begone, O *Catiline*, to that impious and villanous War, may it end in the Safety of the Commonwealth, and your Ruin, together with the Ruin of all them that have joined with you in Wickedness and Parricide. And you, O *Jupiter*, whom we have worshiped from the Days of *Romulus*, whom we deservedly call the Establisher of this City and Empire, you will keep back this Man and his Confederates from your Altars, from the Temples, from the Houses, from the Walls of this City, and from the Lives and Fortunes of the Citizens, and will pursue all the Haters of good Men, the Enemies of their Country, the Robbers of *Italy*, cemented together in

a Combination of Hellish Wickedness, with eternal Punishments here and hereafter.

Catiline humbly desir'd the Senators that they might not rashly believe what *Cicero* had said: That he was come of such a Family, and had demean'd himself in such manner from his Youth, as ministr'd sufficient Grounds to hope for better Things of him. They could not imagine that he, a Patrician, whose Ancestors and himself had done many eminent Services for the People of *Rome*, could be under the least Temptation to ruin the Commonwealth; or that it could have any occasion for such a Protector against him as *M. Tullius*, an upstart Citizen. Against whom, when he added other Reproaches, they all rose up against him, calling him a Parricide: Then in his Rage he said, *Because, being circumvented by my Enemies, I am driven headlong, I'll quench the Flames of my own House by the ruin of that which is next unto it.* After which, he went home in haste; where, after many anxious Thoughts, considering that the Assassination of the Consul had not succeeded, and that the City was every where guarded against sudden Flames; thinking it adviseable to encrease his Army, and provide such Things as are necessary

necessary for War, he took his Rout in the middle of the Night to the Camp of *Mallius* with 300 chosen Men: But he left *Cethegus* and *Lentulus*, and others the most enterprizing Heads behind him, charging them to strengthen the Faction by all means possible; that they should hasten the Assassination of the Consul, and make Provision for Fire and Sword, and all other Military Expedients; assuring them, that in a very few days he would return with a great Army. The next day *Cicero* having called the People together, spoke to this purpose.

Once at length, O Countrymen, we have thrown out *Catiline*, let him go, or advised him to be gone, raging with Boldness, breathing out Wickedness, contriving the Ruin of his Country, threatening Fire and Sword to you and this City. He's gone, he's slipt out, he's escap'd, he's broke through. That Monster is no more contriving our Destruction within the Walls. We have gain'd this great Point against this Author of Civil War. The murdering Weapon shan't faunter up and down amongst us. We are somewhat safer in the Field of *Mars*, in the Marker-place, in the Senate-house, and every Man under his own Roof, than we were a little while ago. He has lost Ground

Tully's second Oration delivered to the People.

Ground when he was driven from the City. We shall deal with him now as an open Enemy above-board, with a great deal of ease. No doubt we have ruin'd him and obtain'd a very glorious Victory, when we have turn'd him from a secret Lye in wait, into an open Robber. How much d'ye think him afflicted, how heavily does it lye upon his Mind, that he could not draw his bloody Sword amongst us, that he went out while I am yet alive, that I should have been able to wrest the Sword out of his Hand, that he should be obliged to leave his Countrymen safe, and the City standing? He has catch'd a Fall, Gentlemen, he's struck down; he's sensible he's slighted, and oft-times looks back upon this City with much regret, that it should have been snatch'd out of his Jaws: Which indeed seems to me to rejoyce that it has vomited up such a Plague, and thrown him out.

But if there is any such as we ought all to be, that accuses me sharply for what I most applaud my self, that I have not rather seized such a capital Enemy, than let him go: That is not my Fault, Gentlemen, but the Fault of the Times. *L. Catiline* should have been drawn, hang'd, and quarter'd a long time ago. The Custom of our Ancestors, the Authority with

with which * I am entrusted, and the Interest of the Commonwealth requir'd it of me. But how many d'ye think there were that believed not what I reported? How many who by reason of their Foolishness could not think it true †? How many that defended his Innocency? How many so vicious as to favour his Enterprize? And had I thought that the Death of *Catiline* would have secured your Safety, it should not have been the Danger of Envy, no nor of my Life neither, should restrain'd me from treating him as he deserved. And if I had done it when ye were not unanimously satisfied concerning his Conspiracy, Affairs would undoubtedly have taken such a Turn, that by reason of the Dust of Envy arising against me upon that Head, I should never have been able to prosecute his Confederates. Wherefore, I brought the Matter to this pass that ye might be ready to fight when ye saw him an open Enemy. The only Ground of Fear remaining with me is this, that there were so few attending him when he went: I wish he had carried all his Friends along with him. He has taken with him *Tongillus*, *Publicius* and *Munatius*, insignificant Fellows. But what Men hath he left? how stout, how powerful,

* That very Day in which it was decreed, That the Consuls should take Care of the Commonwealth.
M. Gracchus, M. Fulvius, L. Saturninus, seditious Citizens, were put to Death.

† Allodging it was only a Spite risen from the Competition for the Consulship.

enful, how noble ‡? When I consider the
 Gallican Legions, the Levies of Q. Me-
 tellus in Picenum and Gaul, and the Le-
 vies which we are making every Day, I
 despise his Army, consisting of old hope-
 less Country Beggars and Spend-thrifts,
 of such as had rather be in the Field than
 appear in Court at the Day appointed,
 who are not able to stand before the Præ-
 tor's Edict, much less before our Army.
 I wish he had carried them with him
 whom I see running to and fro in the Mar-
 ket-Place, standing at the Senate-House,
 coming into the Senate †, shining with
 Ointment, skimmering with Purple; who,
 if they remain here, are more to be feared
 than the Army they have deserted.

3. And they are so much the more to be feared, because they see I have fathomed the Depth of their Heart, and yet they matter it not. I know to whom *Apulia*, to whom *Etruria*, to whom the Country of *Picenum* and *Gaul* are committed, and who have engaged to raise Fire and Sword in the City. They are sensible, I am fully informed of all the Measures resolv'd upon the other Night: I gave Account of them in the Senate Yesterday. *Catiline* himself was startled at it, and is fled; what do these Gentlemen expect? Indeed, they are in a very great

great Mistake, to think my Lenity will always continue. I have gain'd the Point I aim'd at, that all of you should be perfectly satisfied that there is a Conspiracy against the Commonwealth: If there are not some that would not have *Catiline's* Friends be of the same Opinion with himself*. There is now no Place for Gentleness, the Matter it self bespeaks Severity. One Thing I'll grant still; let them be gone, if they have a Mind, let them march; let them not suffer *Catiline* to languish for want of their Company: I'll show them the Way: He took the *Aurelian* Road: If they make haste they'll overtake him this Night. O happy Commonwealth, if this Sink of Impurity were cleansed! *Catiline* alone being thrown out, the Constitution seems to be relieved and refreshed. What Wickedness can be imagined that did not enter into his Heart? What Poisoner, what Robber, what Murderer, what Patcher up of Wills, what Deceiver, what Debauchee, what Spend-thrift, what Adulterer, what infamous Woman, what Corrupter of Youth, what wicked Person of any Kind in all *Italy*, but will confess an intimate Familiarity with *Catiline*? What Murder has been committed without him for some Years? What Impurity has he not committed?

* To wit,
that there is
no Danger.

committed? And now what a Multitude of wicked Men has he gathered together all of a sudden, not only out of the City, but also out of the Countries? There is no Man in the City, no nor in any Corner of all *Italy*, drowned in Debt, but he has found Expedients to hook him into this Confederacy of Wickedness. And that ye may see his Artfulness of all Sides, there is not a Prize-fighter that's really fit for Mischief, but what confesses an Intimacy with *Catiline*: There's ne'er a Stage-Player that's wanton and knavish but what will tell ye he is one of his Companions. And for all he's so jaded in Adultery and Impurity, yet his Companions will tell you how able he was to indure Hunger, Cold, Thirst and Watching, when the Supports of Industry and his natural Abilities were wasting. But, and if his Companions attend him, if the flagitious Herds of wicked Men depart the City, O happy we! O fortunate Commonwealth! O the Glory of my Consulship! The Lusts of Men at this Time are a little above the common Size; their Boldness is beyond the Rate of Men; they are become intollerable; they think of nothing but Robbery, Fire and Sword; they have wasted their Estates; they have eat and drunk their Fortunes;

it's

it's long since they had any Money now they have lost their Credit, but their Lusts are as ravenous as formerly in their Abundance. If they wanted only Wine and Women, Gaming and Revelling, it were bad enough, yet tolerable. But how can it be indured that Drones spread Nets for Men of Honour, Fools for wise Men, Drunkards and Sluggards for Men of Sobriety and Vigilance? Who sweltering in Luxury, companying with Harlots, conquered with Wine, surfeited with eating, crown'd with Garlands, bedaubed with Ointments, weakned with whooring, belch out the Slaughter of good Men, and the burning of the City. Who I am confident are drawing upon themselves some terrible Destinies; and that Punishments due a long Time ago to their Wickedness, Lust and Knavery, are either coming upon them or not far off. Who, because they cannot be cured, therefore if my Consulship removes them out of the way, it will undoubtedly prolong the Duration of the Commonwealth, not for a little Time, but for many Ages. For there is no Nation that we need to fear, nor any King that can make War upon the People of *Rome*. The Valour of one Man has drove away all the Clouds of Foreign War both by Sea and Land.

He means, Pompey had vanquished Mithridates, and reduced the Pirates.

But

But the Domestick War remains; the Snares are in our Streets; the Danger is shut up amongst us; the Enemy is within; we must contend with Madness, Luxury and Wickedness. I profess my self the Captain of this War, Gentlemen: I'll bear the Resentments of profligate Men. Where Things can be cured, I'll spare no Pains to perform it; where they cannot, I'll take care they shall not overspread the City, like a Gangrene. Wherefore, let them either begone, or be quiet; or if they will continue in the City pursuing the Designs in which they are embarked, they may expect to meet with such Things as they deserve. But, Gentlemen, there are some that say I have banished *Catiline*. I confess, if I could do it with Words in like manner, I could be willing to banish the Men that speak at this Rate. I warrant ye he was so bashful and modest that he could not hear the Consul's Words. As soon as he was desired to begone, he took Banishment upon him. What, after I had been almost assassinated in my House Yesterday, I assembled the Senate in the Temple of *Jupiter Stator*, I gave a distinct Account of the whole Matter to the Senators? Whether, when *Catiline* came, which of the Senators addressed himself to him? Who took

took him by the Hand? who look'd up on him as a wicked Citizen, and not rather as a most cruel Enemy? Moreover also the chief Men of the House withdrew from the Place where he sat down, leaving an empty Space.

4. Here I that fierce Consul who can banish by a Word speaking, ask'd of *Catiline* whether he had a Meeting at *M. Læca's* House the Night before or not? when that impudent Man stood silent for a Time, being condemned in his own Conscience; I laid open the whole Matter: what he did that Night, where he had been, what he had resolved on against the next Night, and how he had concerted the whole Measures by which he would carry on the War. When he hesitated, when he was caught, I ask'd him why he doubted of going to the Place whither he had been a long Time preparing to go, since I knew he had sent before him Arms, Ensigns of Authority, Trumpets, Standards, particularly that Golden Eagle unto which he had consecrated a Chapel of Wickedness in his House? Was I indeed willing to banish him whom I saw commencing a War? I warrant ye *Mallius* and his Army at *Fesula*, has declared War against the People of *Rome* in his own Name; and that Army does not look for *Catiline*

as their General; and he's gone, he'll take his Way to *Marseilles*, as they say, to be the Place of his Banishment, he won't go near that Army. O unfortunate Condition, not only of them that govern, but even of them that preserve the Commonwealth! Now if *L. Catiline* being hemm'd in and weaken'd by my Counsels, Labours and Dangers, should be suddenly frighted, change his Mind, forsake his Confederates, lay aside the Thoughts of War, and instead of pursuing his villanous Enterprize, betake himself to Flight and Banishment; it won't be said, that he was disarm'd by me, nor that he was stunn'd or affrighted, defeated in his Endeavours, or disappointed of his Projects by my Diligence; but that being innocent and uncondemned, he was driven from his Country by the Violence and Threatnings of the Consul. There be some that will take a great deal of Pains to have him thought, not a wicked, but an unfortunate Man; and me, not a diligent Consul, but a very cruel Tyrant. D'ye think, Gentlemen, that I value the Storm of this groundless and unjust Envy, provided I can secure you from the Danger of this horrible and villanous War? Let them say he was thrown out by me, provided he goes in-
to

to Banishment: But believe me he won't. I shall never desire of the immortal Gods, Gentlemen, that ye may hear of *Catiline's* being at the Head of an Army to invade us, to ease my self of Envy; but nevertheless ye'll hear of it in three Days time. And I am much more afraid there is a Time coming when it will be Matter of Envy against me, that I let him go rather than that I threw him out. But since there are some that say he was thrown out when he went of his own accord, what wou'd they said if he had been put to Death? Altho' these Gentlemen that would have us believe *Catiline* is gone to *Marseilles*, don't so much complain that it is so, as they are afraid lest it should be so: Yet there's none of them so merciful as to wish him rather at *Marseilles* than with *Mallius*. And as for him, if he had never thought before-hand of what he's doing, yet he had rather be slain invading his Country, than live the Life of a banish'd Man. And now that nothing has happen'd to him otherwise than he could wish, but that he was obliged to depart the City, and leave me alive behind him; if he has taken Banishment upon him, I think I have more Reason to wish it may be so, than to complain that it is so. But why do I speak so much of

one Enemy ; and of that Enemy who confesseth himself to be an Enemy, and whom I don't fear, because the Town Wall is betwixt us, as I always wish'd it might be : Do we say nothing of those that dissemble, that remain still at *Rome*, that are amongst us ? Whom indeed I had rather reclaim than punish, if it be possible to reconcile them to the Commonwealth. And, if they will listen to me I think it is practicable. I'll make you sensible, Gentlemen, of what several Sorts of Men their Strength consists, then I'll tender to each of them, as a Medicine the best Advice I can. The first are, they who being much in Debt, having also great Estates to answer it, and something over, yet they love these Estates so well that they cannot bestow any Part of 'em to pay their Debts. These Men make a very fair Appearance; for they are rich ; but the Cause wherein they are engaged, and their Inclinations are most impudent. Ye abound in Lands, Buildings, Money, Slaves, and all Things else, and are unwilling to dispose of some Part of these Things, in order to the Recovery of your Credit ? What d'ye look for ? War ? What ! d'ye think when Mens Estates in general are exposed to Rapine and Plunder, that no Body dare to lay
their

their Hands upon your Possessions? D'ye think your Debts will be discharged; they are mistaken that imagine *Catiline* can do that. I can help you to sell your Estates or any Part of them to the best Bidder, in order to the Payment of your Debts; nor will ye find any nearer Way to your Ease and Safety. Which, if ye had been willing to do in the proper Time, and not been so foolish as to let your Rents be exhausted with Usury, we shou'd have had you richer and better Citizens than ye are. But I think such Men are not very much to be feared; because either they may be brought to a better Mind, or if they are not, they are more likely to pray for the Destruction of the Commonwealth, than to be stout and active in forwarding it. There is another Sort of Men, who though they be drowned in Debt, yet are they for over-topping all others, for usurping upon their Countrymen; and for having all Things at their Disposal: They imagine that the Preferments which they cannot attain in a quiet Government, will be very accessible in a State of Confusion. One Thing I wou'd advise these Gentlemen, the very same which is fit to be rendred to all others concerned in the Conspiracy; namely, that they have no Reason to apprehend

they can attain to what they seek after. For first of all, they may take it for granted, that I'll watch and take Care of the Commonwealth, with all imaginable Application; and then, that Men of Integrity are Men of great Spirits, a great Multitude, and a very right Understanding amongst them: Besides all this, that we have good Troops, and pretty numerous. And lastly, that the immortal Gods will help and defend this invincible Nation, this famous Empire, this glorious City, against such intolerable Wickedness. But suppose they could imbroid their Country, suppose the City reduced to Ashes, and the Blood of the Citizens running in the Kennels, do they think they should be no less than Dictators, Kings and Consuls? They consider not that every Fugitive and Prize-fighter has as fair a Lot for these Things as they.

Sulla after his Victory divided the Lands about Fesulæ amongst his Soldiers, of whom Mallius was one who having out-lived

5. The third Sort are old Men, Veterans, well experienced in War, of whom *Mallius* himself is one, who at this Time is about resigning his Command to *Catiline*. These are they of the Colonies which *Sulla* planted at *Fesulæ*, who, I believe, at first were generally very worthy Men.

their Fortunes, and skulking up and down Italy, as Fugitives from their Creditors, were found by Catiline to be Men very fit for his Purpose.

But

But being suddenly advanced to the Forfeitures of their Countrymen, they so outliv'd their Fortunes, that they could not be safe from their Creditors, otherwise than by recalling *Sulla* from the Dead. By these also the meaner Sort were drawn in, in hope of Spoil. Both which, Gentlemen, I reckon as Robbers of the same kind. But I would advise them to think of no more Debentures nor Dictatorships. For the Memory of those Times is so bitter to the City, that we are not so stupid and brutish as not to guard against their returning. The fourth Sort are a mix'd Multitude of turbulent Spirits, drowned in Debt a long Time ago; who can never get up their Heads again; having ruined themselves partly by Sloth, partly by Mismanagement, and partly by riotous Living. Of whom a great Number from the City, and from the Countries, are reported to have betaken themselves to *Catiline's* Army. I look upon these Men as not having Spirit enough for such a desperate Undertaking: And since they cannot stand, may they fall at once; but so as not the City only, but even their Neighbours also may be harmless. For that indeed is what I can not understand, namely, that tho' they cannot live reputably why they should desire to die

like Villains; or what Pleasure they should take to perish with a great many, rather than by themselves alone. The fifth Sort are Parricides, Murderers and Malefactors in general. These I would have no Man attempt to separate from *Catiline*; for indeed they are so closely link'd together that they cannot be parted; and may they perish in Rebellion and Robbery, for they are so numerous that the Prisons cannot contain them. The last Sort are a Detachment, a select Band of *Catiline's* Bosom Friends, such as himself; an effeminate Set of Men, whose chief Employments are Night-Revels. The Gamesters, the Adulterers, and all manner of impious and impure Wretches, are Men of Figure in that Society. They are mighty Proficients in the Arts of Singing and Dancing, Murdering and Poisoning. And unless they go to him, unless they perish with him, even after his Departure, there will be *Catilines* in the Commonwealth still. Nevertheless, what have these Wretches in view? Will they carry their Courtezans to the Camp with them? And how can they be without them these long Nights? Or how will they bear the Breathings of Mount *Appennine*, with the Frost and Snow? Unless they think they can endure the Cold the better,

*This Oration
was delivered about
the 8th of
November.*

better, because they have some Practice of dancing naked at their Feasts. O rare War, in which *Catiline* is like to have such a Life-guard of Debauchees! Draw up your Army, ye *Romans*, against these famous Forces; and first set your Consuls and Generals against that worn-out Gladiator: Then set the Flower and Strength of *Italy* against that weakened Band of Bankrupts and Fugitives; and your Levies from the Cities, Hans-Towns and Colonies shall answer *Catiline's* Country Bumpkins: Neither need I compare the rest of your Strength and Provisions of War, with the Want and Poverty of that Robber. But over-looking all these Things, in which we are infinitely superiour, the Senate, the *Roman* Knights, the People, the Treasury, the Tributes, all *Italy*, the Provinces, the Foreign Nations: If, I say, we over-look all these Things, there is a vast Difference in the Justice of the Cause for which we contend. On our side there is Modesty, on theirs Insolence; on our Side there is Chastity, on theirs Adultery; on our side there is Candour, on theirs Deceit; on our side there is Piety, on theirs Wick- edness; on our side there is Constancy, on theirs Rage; on our side there is Hon- esty, on theirs Baseness; on our side there

there is Continnence, on theirs Lust; on our Side there is Justice, Temperance, Fortitude, Prudence, and all the Virtues, contending with Iniquity, Luxury, Cowardice, Rashness, and all manner of Vice. Lastly, Plenty with Want, solid with corrupted Reason, a sound Mind with Madness: Good Hope with Desperation of all Things. In this Dispute, suppose Men should flagg, would not the immortal Gods concern themselves in behalf of so much excellent Virtue, against so many Crimes and such abominable Wickedness.

6. These Things then being so, Gentlemen; I would have you, as I desired before, to watch and defend your Houses: As for the City in general, I have sufficiently provided for its Protection. All your Colonies and hanse Towns having received Information from me of *Catiline's* Excursion in the Night, will be in a very good Condition to defend their Borders: The Prize-Fighters whom he look'd upon as a very considerable Body of Men, and very sure to his Party, tho' they are better disposed than some Patricians, yet they shall find themselves begirt by my Authority. *Q. Metellus*, whom by Way of precaution I sent before to the Country of *Gaul* and *Picenum*, will either oppress him entirely, or obstruct his Proceedings.

As

As for other Things, they shall be referred to the Senate which ye see I have called. Now as for them who have continued in the City, whom *Catiline* has left as his Managers behind him, altho' they be Enemies, yet because they are born Citizens, I should be very glad they would take Warning. If any Man has thought my Gentleness hitherto more than was fitting, I would have him consider it was in Expectation that secret Things would come to Light. Nevertheless now I cannot forget that this is my Country, and that I am the Consul; that I must either live with it, or dye for it. There is no Centry at the Gate, neither is there any Ambush by the Way; such as have a Mind to be gone may provide for themselves if they please: But if I perceive any Man in the City make the least Motion against his Country, he shall find the Consuls watchful, the Magistrates notable, the Senate valiant, and that we have both Arms and Prisons which our Ancestors considered as the Revengers of manifest Villany. And all these things shall be so managed, Gentlemen, that the greatest Matters shall be transacted with little Noise; the greatest Dangers warded off without any Tumult; the most cruel intestine War commenced since the Memory of Man, shall

shall be quashed by one Gown-Man. Which I shall so perform, Gentlemen, if it be possible, that no wicked Man in this City shall bear the Punishment of his Wickedness. But if the Force of open Villany, if the Danger threatening my Country, of Necessity drive me from this Gentleness of Mind, I will endeavour what in so great and dangerous a War is scarcely to be expected, that no good Man shall suffer; and that ye shall all be delivered from Danger by the Punishment of a few. Which Things I promise you, Gentlemen, not leaning to my own Prudence, nor the Councils of Men, but by many certain and signal Intimations from the immortal Gods, under whose Direction I have conceived my Hopes, and taken Measures; who not at a great Distance as sometime heretofore, but by their immediate Presence defend their own Temples and your Houses; whom you Gentlemen ought to address, worship, and implore that they would defend this City from the hellish Assaults of its own Inhabitants, which they have made so famous, flourishing, and powerful, by baffling the Force of all its foreign Enemies, both by Sea and Land.

While these Things are going on at *Rome*, *Mallius* sends some of his Friends as Ambas-

ambassadors to Q. Martius Rex, to whom they address'd themselves in this Manner.

May it please your Excellence, We call Gods and Men to Witness we mean no War against our Country, nor harm of any kind to any Man, but barely to save our Bodies from impendent Danger: None of us could enjoy the Benefit of Law, according to the Custom of our Ancestors, whereby it was provided, that when Men had lost their Fortunes, their Bodies should be safe and free: Such has the Cruelty of the Pretor and the Usurers been. Oftentimes your Ancestors have pitied and helped the *Plebeians* in such Cases by their Decrees. And lastly, within your Memory, Debts were become so high, that with Consent of all good Men, the Creditors were obliged to accept of four Shillings in the Pound. Oftentimes the *Plebeians* being disturb'd at the Usurpations of the Senate, or the Pride of the Magistrates, have withdrawn their Obedience with their Weapons in their Hands. But we aim at neither Authority nor Riches, the chief Things for which Mortals contend: But Liberty only, which no good Man ever resigns but with his last Breath. We adjure you and the Senate, that you will look upon your unfortunate Countrymen;

The Oration of Mallius's Ambassadors to Quintus Martius Rex.

By the Law of the 12 Tables, not only could the insolvent Debtor be bound, but also cut in Pieces and divided amongst the Creditors. The Severity of this had been several Times, and several Ways mitigated: They pretend here that they had not enjoyed, or could not obtain the Benefit of these Mitigations.

men; and restore us to the Protection of the Law, whereof we stand deprived by the Iniquity of the Prætor; and that ye would impose no such hard Necessity upon us, as that of contriving Expedients how we may sell our Lives at the dearest Rate.

Unto this *Q. Martius* answered, if they had any Favour to desire of the Senate, that they must lay down their Arms, and present their Petition at *Rome*: That the Senate and People of *Rome* had been always so merciful and kind, that no Man ever desired their Help in vain. But *Catiline*, as he went along sent back Letters to most of the first Rank of Senators, and very many good Men, that he had been falsely accused, and because he was not able to resist the Torrent of his Enemies, he gave way to Fortune, and was upon his Way to *Marseilles*, as the Place of his Banishment; not as if he were guilty of so much Wickedness; but that his Country might be quiet; lest his standing upon his Defence, might have proved an Occasion of Sedition. But *Q. Catulus* read in the Senate a Letter of a very different Stile, which he said he received from *Catiline*, as followeth.

*Such as had
been Consuls.*

L. Catiline

L. Catiline to *Q. Catulus* sendeth greeting. Your singular Fidelity whereof I have had good Experience in my dangers, gives me great Confidence in this Recommendation. Wherefore I resolved to make no defence in the mixt Assembly of the Senate: being determined to place my Satisfaction in the Confidence of my Innocency. Which by *Hercules*, you know to be true as well as I. Vexed with Injuries and Reproaches, disappointed of the Fruits of my Labour and Industry, and having no Preferment suitable to my Merit, according to my Custom I have undertaken the Protection of the Miserable. Not but that I am able to pay my Debts out of my own Estate, or if I were not *Cornelia Orestilla* would do it out of hers; but because I saw unworthy Persons advanced, and my self disgraced upon groundless Suspicion; for this Reason, in my Circumstances I have taken fair Measures for preserving what remains of my Honour and Dignity. Now I commend *Orestilla* to your Care, adjuring you by the love of your own Children, that you protect her from wrong. Farewell.

After a little stay with *C. Flaminius* in the Country of *Reate*, until he had armed such as were prepared to joyn him, he himself hastened to *Mallius* with the bundle of Rods and other Ensigns of Authority.

Constitution
of the
Senate

thority. When these things were known at *Rome*, the Senate declared *Catiline* and *Mallius* Enemies to the Commonwealth, and published an Indemnity to the rest of the Multitude, that should lay down their Arms in such a time, excepting only such as were under Sentence of Death, for other Capital Crimes. And further decreed that the Consuls should levy Men for the Service; that *Antonius* should march against *Catiline*, and that *Cicero* should take Care of the City. At that time the State of the *Romans* seemed to me very Miserable; they had reduced all Nations to their Obedience by their conquering Arms, from the rising to the setting of the Sun; they abounded in Ease and Plenty, the things which are most valuable amongst Mortals; but there were Citizens obstinately resolved to destroy both themselves and their Country. For notwithstanding the great Multitude of the Conspirators, neither did the reward promised by the Senators produce the least Discovery, nor the Indemnity bring so much as one Man from *Catiline's* Army. The Strength of the Disease was such, that it spread upon the Minds of the Citizens like an Infection. Nor were their Minds only alienated that were upon the Conspiracy, but the common People in general favoured the Enterprize purely from

Rebellion is
as the Sin of
Witchcraft,
and Stub-
bornness is as
Iniquity and
Idolatry, 1.
Sam. 15. 23.

a vicious Itch of Novelty. And it's frequent in any Government, that Men of unfatiable Ambition, especially such as have out-run their Fortunes, are apt to envy the Virtuous and extol the Wicked, to abhor the Establishment, and embark in all treasonable Designs; they are so full of Aversion to their Circumstances, that they would have all Things changed; they feed upon Tumult and Sedition, their Spirits are fierce, and they vainly fancy that come what will, it can be no worse with them. There was a Confluence of wicked Men from all Places associated at *Rome*, like Impurity in the Common-shore. Many remembered the Victory of *Sulla*, which had raised some single Soldiers to be Senators, and made others as rich as Kings. Every one promised himself the like Success. Many also of the Country Youth were inticed to entertain Hopes of exchanging their ungrateful Toil, with the Ease of the City. All these fed upon the Hopes of publick Evil. And it is natural for Bullies, Rakes and Spend-thrifts, to endeavour to bring the Affairs of their Country to the same pass they have brought their own. They also whose Parents had lost their Fortunes by the Proscriptions of *Sulla*, were apt to presage to themselves, as if Fortune

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intended

intended to make them amends by *Catiline's* Undertaking. Whosoever were disaffected to the Senate were also more willing to disturb their Country than be wanting to the least Opportunity of advancing themselves. Some took upon them to maintain the Rights of the People; others, the Authority of the Senate: All pretending the publick Welfare, when it was the least Thing in their Intention. They were so far from Modesty and Moderation, that Spite and Rancour were visible in their Disputes, and Cruelty in their Victories. Nevertheless, many went after *Catiline* that were not upon the Conspiracy; amongst whom there was one *Fulvius* the Son of a Senator, whom his Father call'd back, and put to Death for his Pains *. In the mean Time *Leontius* at *Rome*, by himself and his Instruments, solicited all such as he thought by their Circumstances or Inclinations likely to be brought over to their Party, according to his Instructions from *Catiline*; neither did he apply himself to Citizens only, but to all Sorts of Persons also that could be thought fit for War. He employed one *Umbrenus* to find out the Ambassadors of the *Savoyards*, and bring them into a Partnership of the War, if it were possible; apprehending that by reason

* Anciently
it was in
the Power of
a Parent to
put his Son
to Death, if
he thought
he deserved
it.

reason of the Publick Payments, to which they were subjected, and their private Incumbrances, together with the fierce Disposition of that Nation, they might be ready to come into *Catiline's* Measures. *Umbrenus* was known to the chief Men of most of the Cities of *Gaul*, as having had Business amongst them, and knew these Ambassadors particularly: Wherefore, as soon as he saw them in the Market-Place, after a few Questions concerning the State of their Country, and as it were bemoaning their Case, he began to ask them what End they expected of these Evils. After they had complain'd of the Covetousness of the Magistrates, and accused the Senate that there was no Help nor Protection in them; they answered, that Death was the only Remedy of their Evils: *But I*, saith he, *have found out an Expedient whereby ye may be delivered, if ye have Courage to pursue it.* After these Words the *Savoyards* began to conceive great Hopes; intreating him that he would have Compassion on them; affirming, that nothing was so difficult nor dangerous that they would not undertake with all imaginable Cheerfulness to clear their Country of Debt! He carried them into the House of *D. Brutus*, which was near to the Market-Place,

Place, and very fit for Consultation, because of *Sempronia*, for *Brutus* was not at Home: Moreover, he brought *Gabinus* to give Authority to what he said. In his Presence he open'd the Conspiracy, named the Associates, and with them a great many innocent Persons, that the Thing might seem the more feasible to the Ambassadors: And after they had promised their Concurrence, he let them go Home. But the Ambassadors wavered mightily, and were very much at a Loss what to resolve upon. On the one side there was Debt, the Love of War, and a great Reward in the Hope of Victory: On the other, there was more Wealth, safe Counsels, and sure Rewards for uncertain Hopes. While they turn'd over these Things, at length the Fortune of the Commonwealth prevail'd. Accordingly they laid the Matter open to *Q. Fabius Sanga*, upon whose Patronage their Countrymen very much depended. *Cicero*, having received Information from *Sanga*, sends Word to the Ambassadors by all means to make as if they would join in the Conspiracy, that they would go to the rest of the Conspirators, promise freely, and sound the Depth of their Councils. There were about the same Time Commotions in the nearer and further

ther *Gaul*, in the Country of *Picenum*, *Bruttium* and *Apulia*. The Persons whom *Catiline* sent before, by proceeding inconsiderately and at Random, by Assemblies in the Night, carrying of Arms to and fro, and making a Noise, had created more Fear than Danger. *Q. Metellus Celer*, after Examination according to the Decree of the Senate, had put many of them in Chains: *C. Murena* Deputy of the Province had done the like in nearer *Gaul*. But *Lentulus* at *Rome*, with the rest of the chief of the Conspirators, after enlisting a great Army of Men in their Service, had resolved as soon as *Catiline* came from *Fesule* with his Army, that *L. Bestia*, the Tribune, should call the People together, and complain; in order to fix the Blame of so heavy a War upon the good Consul. From that Sign the Night following the rest of the Multitude of the Conspirators should every one of them perform his Part. The Matter was said to be adjusted in this Manner. *Statilius* and *Gabinus*, with a great Band of Men, were to set twelve Places of the City on Fire at once, and these were pick'd-out Places as the fittest to make a general Conflagration. That this Tumult might make an easy Access to the Consul, and such others as were to be assassinated,

Cethegus should lay siege to *Cicero's* Gate, and dispatch him: And others to the Gates of other Men that were to be used in like Manner. Many Sons, especially Patri-
cians, should imbrue their Hands in their Fathers Blood: And as soon as these Things were done, in the midst of the general Consternation they should break out and join *Catiline*. Amidst all these Preparations and Resolutions, *Cethegus* was always complaining of the Cowardice of his Associates, that by Linger-
 ing and Delays they had lost great Opportunities; that there was more need of Action than consulting in such a Case. And while others were flagging, that he himself, give him but a few Hands to assist, was ready to attack the Senate-House; being naturally fierce and earnest, and one that look'd upon Forwardness as the greatest Virtue. But the Ambassadors of the *Savoyards*, under the Direction of *Cicero*, assemble the Conspirators by means of *Gabinus*. They require a sign'd Oath from *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius* and *Cassius*, which they may carry to their Countrymen, without which they said they could not proceed cheerfully in a Matter of such Importance. The Conspirators without Suspicion sign the Oath, and deliver it to them. *Cassius*
 promises

promises to be among the *Savoyards* in a short Time, and takes his Journey a little before the Ambassadors. *Lentulus* sends one *T. Vulturcius* with them to make sure that they should confirm their League with *Catiline* as they went Home. By whom also he sent him a Letter, with a verbal Message to this Purpose; namely, to ask why he rejected the Slaves since he was judged an Enemy by the Senate; that all Things were ready in the City as he required; and that he should hasten his Approach. *Cicero* being fully informed of all Things by the Ambassadors, and particularly of the Night appointed for the Journey, gives Orders to *L. Valerius Flaccus*, and *C. Pomptinus* the Prætors, that they should lay an Ambush to intercept the Company of the *Savoyards* at the *Mulvian* Bridge; opening to them the whole Matter of the Cause for which they were sent, with full Commission to do as the Matter should require. The Soldiers march without Noise, and place themselves conveniently, as they were commanded. When the Ambassadors and *Vulturcius* came upon the Place, the Shout arose on both Sides; the *Gauls* being appriz'd of the Matter presently surrender'd themselves to the Prætors. *Vulturcius*, after animating of the rest, stood

to his Defence; then, when he saw himself deserted by the Ambassadors, he was all for capitulating with *Pomptinus* for his Safety, as being his Acquaintance: At last, being very fearful and diffident of his Life, he surrendered himself to the Prætors, as a Man surrenders himself to his Enemies. After which there is an Express immediately dispatch'd to the Consul, who upon the News is possess'd with an equal Measure of Care and Joy. He was glad to see the City delivered from the Danger, by the Discovery of the Conspiracy. He was anxious as not knowing what to do with so great Citizens, catch'd in such abominable Wickedness. To punish them was dangerous, to let them go unpunished was infallibly the Ruin of his Country. Wherefore, with a resolute Mind he commands *Len- tulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, *Gabinus* and *Ceparius* of *Tarracina* (who was preparing to go into *Apulia* to raise the Slaves) to be brought unto him. And accordingly they brought them all, except *Ceparius* only, who made his Escape. Because *Len- tulus* was Prætor, the Consul took him by the Hand, and led him to the Senate, commanding the rest with their Keepers to attend in the Temple of *Concord*; where he called the Senate, and presented

Vulturcius

Vulturcius and the Ambassadors in their full Assembly, commanding also *Flaccus* the Prætor to bring the Case with the Letters he had received from the Ambassadors. *Vulturcius* being required to declare concerning his Journey, concerning the Letters, whither and upon what Enterprize he was going, began at first to make Pretences and disown the Conspiracy; but when they promised him his Life he confessed the Truth, that he had been a few Days before brought into the Conspiracy by *Gabinus* and *Ceparius*; that he knew no more than the Ambassadors did; only he had frequently heard from *Gabinus*, that *P. Autronius*, *Serv. Sulla*, *L. Vargunteius*, and many others were upon the Conspiracy. The Ambassadors confess the same Things. And when *Lentulus* would have denied, besides the Letters, they affirm, they had often heard him say, that the *Sibilla* had foretold that three *Cornelii* should reign at *Rome*; that *Cinna* and *Sulla* were the two first; and that he himself was the third; moreover, that that was the 20th Year from the Fire in the Capitol, which the Southsayers had often affirmed would be a bloody Year of Civil War. After reading the Letters, and examining the Seals, the Senate decreed *Lentulus* deposed

Abdicato
Magistratu.

* The *Edile*
was a Ma-
gistrate
whose Busi-
ness it was
to see that
the Temples,
Houses, Con-
duits, Streets
and High-
ways, should
be kept in
repair.

posed from his Magistracy, and recom-
mended him and his Confederates to free
Custody; *Lentulus* was committed to
Lentulus Spinther, who was then *Edile**,
Cethegus to *Q. Cornificius*, *Statilius* to
C. Cesar, *Gabinus* to *M. Crassus*, *Ce-
parius* (for he also was taken and brought
back) to *Cn. Terentius* a Senator. Here-
tofore the common People had been too
favourable from an Itch of Novelty, but
now the Conspiracy is detected, they
curse *Catiline*, and extol *Cicero* to the
Heavens, as having delivered them from
approaching Slavery. What exasperated
them most was the Thoughts of wilful
Fire, which must need appear cruel and
terrible to them that had their whole
Estates in their Houses, and about them.
The Day following *L. Targuinius* was
brought unto the Senate; who being up-
on his Way to *Catiline*, was taken and
brought back. He also, being first assu-
red of his Pardon, declared much the
same Things that *Vulturius* had done
concerning the wilful Fire, the intended
Assassinations, the March of the Enemy,
&c. Moreover, that he was sent by *M.
Crassus* to *Catiline* to tell him not to be
afraid, though *Lentulus* and *Cethegus*,
and others were apprehended; but to
hasten his March to the City, both to
refresh

refresh the Minds of the Remainder, and to deliver them from Danger. But when *Tarquinius* named *Crassus*, a Person of Quality, very rich and powerful; some thought it incredible; others, tho' they thought it true, were yet of Opinion that it was not safe to exasperate so great a Man in so nice a Juncture; the greater Part being obnoxious to *Crassus* in their private Affairs cried out the Discovery was false, requiring that Point might be referred to the Senate. Wherefore in a full Assembly of the Senate, *Cicero* presiding, it was decreed, that the Discovery of *Tarquinius* seem'd false, and that he shou'd be kept in Chains, and have no further Liberty to speak in the Senate, unless he would declare by whose Advice he had contrived so great an Aspersion against *Crassus*. Some at that Time thought that this was the Contrivance of *P. Autronius*, to the end that the Power and Interest of *Crassus* might be a Protection to them all. Others said *Tarquinius* was under the Direction of *Cicero*; and that his Intention was to disable *Crassus* from disturbing the Commonwealth, by taking upon him the Protection of wicked Men, as his Manner was. *Sallust* affirms he heard *Crassus* afterwards say, that this Affront was put upon him by *Cicero*. At this

this Time *Q. Catulus* and *C. Piso* were highly exasperated against *C. Caesar*: *Piso*, because he had accused him of Extortion; *Catulus*, because he had over-match'd him in the Competition for the High-Priesthood, being a much younger Man. But they could not prevail with *Cicero*, neither by Interest, Intreaty nor Promises, to permit *Caesar* to be falsely accused, neither by the *Savoyards*, nor any other Discoverer: And such Aspersions would be ready to have stuck to him, because he was both profuse in his way of Living, and very much dipp'd in Debt. But when they could not prevail with the Consul, they set about to make People believe, as if such Things had been suggested by *Vulturcius*, or the *Savoyards*, by which means they drew so much Envy upon him, that some of the *Roman* Knights that were guarding the Temple of *Concord* threatned him with their Swords as he came out of the Senate, either by reason of the real Greatness of the Danger, or their intemperate Zeal for the Commonwealth. Upon dismissing of the Senate from the Temple of *Concord*, *Cicero* went out and spoke to the People in this Manner.

You

You see, Gentlemen, the Common-wealth, your Lives, your Fortunes, your Wives, your Children, and this famous Seat of Empire, this fortunate and beautiful City, through the Kindness of the immortal Gods, by my Labours and Dangers, delivered from Fire and Sword, snatch'd from the Jaws of Fate, preserv'd and restored to you. And if these Days, in which we are preserved, are no less bright and pleasant, than those in which we are born; because the Joy of Preservation is certain, but the Condition of Life is uncertain: And because we are born without Sense, but preserved with Pleasure, since we have extoll'd *Romulus* the Founder of this City to the immortal Gods in the Chariot of Fame; certainly he will have some Share of Honour with you and your Posterity, who has preserved this same City, now it's built and enlarged. For we have upon the Matter quenched the Flames that were almost set under the Temples, Houses, Roofs, and Walls of the whole City; we have also beat back the Swords from the Common-wealth, and the Instruments of Murder from your Throats. Which things, because they were clear'd, found out and discovered by me, I will give you a short Account, both of the greatness of the Things, the Clearness of the

Tully's Third
Oration a-
gainst Cati-
line, deli-
vered to the
People,

of the Evidence, and the Manner of Discovery, as you will find it recorded in the Senate.

2. And first, as soon as *Catiline* a few Days ago broke out of the City, leaving the Partners of his Wickedness, the Captains of this villainous War at *Rome*, I have been always watching; it has been my constant Care to consider how we might be safe, in the midst of such great and hidden Snares. When I thrust *Catiline* out of the City (for now I am not afraid to affirm I thrust him out, I'm more afraid of the Danger of letting him go alive) when, I say, I expell'd him, I thought either the whole Knot would go at once, or the Remainder would be weak and insignificant without him. But as soon as I saw the Men whom I knew to be most inflamed with Rage and Wickedness to be amongst us remaining at *Rome* still, I laid out my Time Night and Day to perceive and discern what they were doing, what Measures they were taking; that because the incredible Greatness of their Wickedness might make the Truth of what I said liable to Suspicion, I should so manage the Matter, that then at least ye might take Care of your Lives and Safety, when ye saw the Villany with your own Eyes: Therefore as soon as I found the Ambassadors of the *Savoyards* to be solicited by

Len-

Lentulus, in order to the raising of War and Tumults in *Gaul* beyond the *Alps*, and that they were sent to their Countrymen, and in their way to carry Advice to *Catiline*, and that *Vulturius* was sent with them, with Letters to *Catiline*, I thought the immortal Gods had put the desired Opportunity in my Hand, of making both the Senate and you perfectly sensible of the whole Matter, which was a very nice Turn. Wherefore Yesterday I call'd upon *L. Flaccus* and *C. Pontinus*, the Prætors, very valiant Men, loving and zealous Patriots, laid the thing before them, and told them what I thought reasonable to be done. They, who were ever in the Interest of their Country, very cheerfully undertook the Matter; and as it drew towards Night, came quietly to the *Mulvian* Bridge. And there they plac'd themselves in two Companies in the Neighbouring Villages on the further Side of the Bridge and the *Tiber*; whither also without any Suspicion they came; and I had also sent the chosen Youth of the Prefecture of *Reate*, whose Service I frequently use in the Protection of the Commonwealth. In the mean time, when towards the close of the Third Watch of the Night, the Ambassadors with a great Retinue, and *Vulturius* with them, set Foot on the Bridge, they are assaulted;
Swords,

Swords are drawn on both Sides; the Thing was perfectly known to none but the Prætors, who as soon as they came up quell'd the Tumult. The Letters with the Seals untouch'd are delivered to them: The Prisoners are brought to me, towards the Dawning of the Morning. Whereupon I sent for *C. Gabinius* Contriver of all this Wickedness, who was suspecting nothing; then for *P. Statilius*, after him for *Cethegus*, and last of all for *Lentulus*, who came very slowly, I believe because he had been later up than ordinary about writing and dispatching his Letters. When very many worthy Men of this City having heard the Matter came to me, they were of Opinion it was fit to open the Letters before I should produce them in the Senate, leass if there should be nothing found in them, I might be thought to have made all this ado for nothing: But I told them, as the Danger was publick and common, I thought it more adviseable to produce the Letters, as I had received them, in the publick Assembly. For, Gentlemen, if Things had proved to be otherways than they were represented to me; yet I was not afraid of being thought over diligent in a Matter of such Importance. I assembled a full Senate, with all Speed, as you know. And in the mean

mean time I sent *C. Sulpitius* the Prætor, a very worthy Man, at the Desire of the *Savoyards* to search *Cethegus's* House for Arms, where he found a great many. I brought in *Vulturcius*, without the *Savoyards*, and promised him his Remission with Consent of the Senate: desiring him to discover what he knew without Fear. It was sometime before he could recover himself out of so great a Consternation; and then he said he was sent by *Lentulus* to *Catiline*, with Letters and Commands to raise the Slaves, and to hasten to the City with his Army: That the Matter was thus concerted, that when the City should be set on Fire, according to the Proportions allotted to the Conspirators severally, and when they had assassinated such as they had doom'd to that Fate, he should be at the Gates to receive them, and that they should jointly make one Army. The *Savoyards* being brought in, produced the Oath administered to them, and the Letters sent by *P. Lentulus*, *Cethegus* and *Statilius* to their Countrymen: Adding that they had received Instructions from them, and *L. Cassius*, to send a Body of Horse into *Italy* with all Haste, and that they should not want for a Body of Foot; and that *Lentulus* had assured them from the Prophecies of the *Sibylls*, and the Responses of the *South-*
G *sayers,*

sayers, that he is the Third *Cornelius* unto whom the Sovereignty of the City must descend: That *Cinna* and *Sulla* had been before him; and that he further affirm'd this Year would be fatal to this City and Empire, which was the Tenth after the Abso-

† *Catiline* had been objected to *Fabia* the *vestal Virgin*, who made her Defence, and was absolved, because as *Asconius* saith she was Sister to *Terentia* *Cicero's* Wife.

* It had been burnt by the Negligence of Servants and was restored in the Consulship of *Hortensius* and *Metellus*.

§ *Dies Saturnalius* was the 14th of Feb. a time wherein they indulged themselves in Pleasure and were secure.

lution of the † *Virgins*, and the Twentieth from the burning of the * *Capitol*. They affirmed also, that there was this Dispute amongst them, namely, that when *Lentulus* and the rest were for having their Resolutions executed upon the Feast of § *Saturn*, *Cethegus* thought that was too long to delay. And that I may not be tedious, Gentlemen; I commanded the Letters to be brought, first, we shewed the Seal to *Cethegus*, he knew it. We opened it; we read it. It was written with his own Hand to the Senate and People of *Savoy*, Importing that he would make good what he had undertaken to their Ambassadors: Intreating that they would make good what he had required of them. *Cethegus* who had a little before been excusing himself, as to the Arms found in his House, alledging that he had always been a Lover of fine Arms; when the Letters were read he was struck down and silent, being conscious of his Guilt. *Statilius* being introduced, could not deny his Hand and Seal. His Letters be-
ing

ing read to the same Purpose, he confessed. Then I shewed the Letters to *Lentulus*, and ask'd him if he knew the Seal; he confess'd he did; then said I, it's a well known Seal, your Grandfather's Head, that loved his Country and his Countrymen above all Things; which ought to have recalled you from so great Wickedness, even by its dumb Language.

3. His Letters in like Manner to the Senate and People of *Savoy* are read. If he had any thing to say, I desired him to speak; then he began to deny; and a little after when the whole Discovery was read and publish'd, he stood up and ask'd the *Savoyards* what he had to do with them, and for what they came to his House; he ask'd the same of *Vulturius*. When they had answered him short, and pointed, by whom they had been brought, and how often they had been with him, and ask'd him whether he had not spoke to them of the Prophecies of the *Sibylls*; then he discovered the Power of Conscience, being struck with the Horror of his own Wickedness. For when he might have stood to his Denial, he surprized us all with a Confession; so by Reason of his manifest Wickedness, not only his Brightness and Eloquence fail'd him, which were not despisable, but even his Impudence in

which he excelled all others. But *Vultur-*
tius desired the Letters to be brought and
 opened which were sent by him from *Len-*
tulus to *Catiline*; and then, all in
 Confusion, he could deny neither his
 Hand nor Seal. They were written
 without a Name in these Words, *Who*
I am, you'll know by the Bearer. Ap-
prove your self a Man. Consider what
Progress you have made, and what is in-
dispensibly necessary to your Affairs: Em-
brace all manner of Help you can obtain,
not excepting even the lowest size of Men.
 Then *Gabinus* was brought in, who at
 first answer'd very impudently, and at last
 confessed all that the *Savoyards* witnessed
 against him. And truly, Gentlemen, their
 Letters, Seals, Hand-Writing and Con-
 fession seem'd to me undeniable Evidence:
 Moreover their Colour, their Eyes, their
 Countenance, their Silence, their stolen
 Looks to one another, made them look
 more like Men discovering themselves than
 discovered by any other. The Discovery
 being made, Gentlemen, I asked the Se-
 nate what they thought fit to be done.
 The chief of the Senators gave their Judg-
 ment in a very Masculine way, which was
 unanimously follow'd; and because the
 Act of Senate is not yet written over, I
 will

will give you a short Account of the Contents thereof. First I have the Thanks of the Senate, for my faithful Endeavours to preserve the Commonwealth in such imminent Danger; then *L. Flaccus* and *C. Pontinus* are applauded for their good Service. *C. Antonius* also my Colleague is commended for removing such as were Partners in the Conspiracy, both from the Common-wealth and from his Familiarity. And so it was decreed, that *P. Lentulus*, whereas he had forfeited his Prætorship should be delivered into Custody; together with *C. Cethegus*, *L. Statilius* and *P. Gabinus*, who were all present; and the same thing was decreed against *L. Cassius*, who had required that the Charge of setting the Town on Fire might be committed to him; against *M. Cæparius* who was discovered to have undertaken to raise the Boors of *Apulia*; against *P. Furius*, one of the Colony which *Sulla* planted at *Fesulæ*; against *Q. Magius Chilo*, who together with this *Furius* had been very busie in soliciting the Ambassadors of the *Savoyards*; against *P. Umbrenus* a freed Man, by whom it appeared the *Savoyards* were first brought to *Gabinus*. Such was the great Temper of the Senate, Gen-

G 3

tlemen,

tllemen, that of so great a Conspiracy, so great a Force of domestick Enemies, they look'd upon nine as a sufficient Number to be punish'd for the Safety of the Common-wealth; and the rest as curable.

A Thanksgiving was appointed to the immortal Gods for my good Service; the first Gown-Man that had this Honour, since the Building of the City. It was decreed in these Words, *That I had delivered the City from Flames, the Citizens from Slaughter, and Italy from War,* Which, Gentlemen, hath this Singular in it, that other Thanksgivings were appointed for successful Administration, this for preserving the Common-wealth.

Then that was performed which ought to have been done first; for the *P. Lentulus* was declared by the Judgment of the Senate, to have lost, not only the Rights of the Prætor, but also those of a Citizen; yet he abdicated the *Magistracy; that whereas *C. Marius*, a very famous Man, kill'd *Glaucia* the Prætor, concerning whom there had been nothing specially decreed, we might be free from all Censure in punishing *P. Lentulus* a private Man.

*Magistratu
se abdicavit.

He laid
down, saith
Plutarch, the
Purple Robe
with which
he was cloath
ed, in the
middle of the
Senate, and
put on one
suitable to his
present Cir-
cumstances.

4. Now, Gentlemen, whereas ye have got the Captains of this most villainous and dangerous War in your Hands, ye may believe me all *Catiline's* Wealth, Power and Hopes

Hopes are fallen to the Ground. When I was driving him out of Town, Gentlemen, I considered with my self, that if *Catiline* were once removed, I had not so much Reason to be afraid of the sleepy Head of *P. Lentulus*, nor the fat Belly of *L. Cassius*, nor the inconsiderate Rashness of *C. Cæparius*. He was the only dangerous Man of them all, at least while he was within the Walls of the City. He knew all Things; he had free Access at all Men's Gates; he could accost, pump and solicit; he had Penetration to contrive, and wanted neither Courage nor Eloquence to perform. He could pick out Men fit for the several Provinces, or Branches of an Enterprize; and when he gave any thing in Charge, he did not rashly presume it would be well executed; there was nothing that he would not undergo himself; he'd run to and fro, watch and labour; he'd bear Cold, Hunger and Thirst; nothing daunted him. He was so smart, so ready, so daring, so watchful, in Wickedness so diligent in Mischiefe, that if I had not turned his secret Conspiracy into open War (I think in earnest Gentlemen) I could never have warded the Blow from your Heads. He would not have set the Feast of *Saturn*, he would not have given so much time to pry out and discover the Destructi-

on intended; he would not have committed such Blunders as to let his Seal, his Letters, or the Witnesses of his Wickedness fall into our Hands; which now in his Absence have been so managed that never any Theft in a private Family was made more manifest than this so great a Conspiracy against the Commonwealth. If *Catiline* had continued in the City until this Day, to speak it in the gentlest Terms, we must have been in Blood; although, as it happened, I had the good Fortune to withstand his Measures all the while he was here: Nor while the Enemy was in the City could it been possible for us to rescue the Commonwealth with so much Peace, Ease and Quietness. Although I have managed this whole Matter, Gentlemen, so that it may seem to have been under the special Care, Providence and Direction of the immortal Gods. And this we may the rather conjecture, both because the Success of such great Affairs is not within the Compass of Human Counsels; and also because we may in this Juncture almost behold with our Eyes their most gracious and ready Help. Nay, the Comets in the West, the Fire in the Sky, the flying Thunderbolts, the Earthquakes and other Things that happened

in my Consulship, seemed as if the Gods had been telling us before-hand what was upon the Wheel. Ye remember in the Consulship of *Cotta* and *Torquatus* how many Towers of the Capitol were Thunder-struck, at which Time the Images of the immortal Gods were driven from their Places, the Statues of ancient Men were thrown down, and the Tables of the Law dissolved: *Romulus* also the Builder of this City was touched; ye remember how the Golden Figure lay sucking the Duggs of the Wolf; at which Time when the Southsayers of * *Etruria* were assembled, they said that Fire and Slaughter, the Destruction of Laws, Civil War, and the Ruin of this Imperial City were at hand; unless by all imaginable Application the immortal Gods were over-persuaded to give the Destinies another Turn. Accordingly, from their Answers there were Plays appointed for ten Days in End; nor was there any Thing omitted that could be thought useful to atone. At the same Time also they commanded that the Image of *Jupiter* should be made larger, and set on high; and, contrary to what it was before, that his Face should be turned to the East: And they said they hoped, that if that Sign which you see should look upon the Sun rising the

* A Place
for South-
saying.

O the Blind-
ness of Men!

Forum

Forum and the Senate-House; it would come to pass, that these Measures, which were secretly taken against the Government, might be brought to Light, so as to be discovered by the Senate and People of *Rome*. These Consuls appointed it to be so placed; but such was our Negligence, that it was neither done by the former Consuls, nor by us until this Day. And here, Gentlemen, who can be so unwilling to acknowledge the Truth, so inconsiderate or short of Thought, as to deny that these Things we see, and chiefly that the Government of this City is under the kind and favourable Direction of the immortal Gods? For when it was foretold, that Fire and Sword, and the Destruction of the Commonwealth were hatching, and that by wicked Citizens; Things which at that Time, by reason of the Greatness of the Villany, were thought incredible by some Men: Now it's clear they had not only adjusted, but also begun their Enterprize. Does not the good Hand of the great *Jupiter* appear over us at this Instant? When as this very Day, in which the Conspirators, and the Evidence, were brought thro' the Temple of *Concord* by my Order, at that very Time the Image was set up; which being placed

placed and turned to you and the Senate, both ye and they have attain'd to a full Discovery of all that was contrived against the Common Safety. They were resolved to spread their destroying Flames, not upon your Houses only, but also upon the Temples of the immortal Gods: If I should say I had defeated them I shou'd assume too much to my self; I should be insolent: It was *Jupiter*; it was he; it was he that defeated them. He was resolved to spare the Capitol, these Temples, this City, and your Lives and Fortunes. It was under the Direction of the immortal Gods that I entered upon these Measures, that I attain'd to these Discoveries. *Lentulus*, with his Knot of Domestick Enemies, had never solicited the *Savoyards*, nor trusted such Letters and Matters to Strangers and Barbarians, unless the immortal Gods had mingled Infatuation with their Boldness. And what d'ye think on't? that *Gauls* from a turbulent City, the only remaining Nation that was in a Condition, and not unwilling to make War upon the *Romans*; that they should over-look the Hopes of Power and the mightiest Things, freely proposed to them by Patricians, preferring your Safety to their own Advancement: Is not this the Finger of God? Confi-

Considering especially that they might have conquer'd us without fighting, only by keeping a Secret.

The Boys, the Matrons and the Virgins beautified with certain Ornaments, went about singing Hymns in Praise of the Gods.

5. Wherefore, Gentlemen, since there is a general Thanksgiving appointed, I hope ye will celebrate these Days with your Wives and Children. There have been many Thanksgivings decreed to the immortal Gods, but never greater Reason than at this Time. For ye are delivered from a most cruel and miserable Destruction, and delivered without Blood or Slaughter, without an Army, or so much as the Drawing of a Sword; ye have conquered under the Conduct of one single Gownman. Remember, Gentlemen, our Civil Broils, not those only upon ancient Record, but these also of our own Times. *L. Sulla* * killed *Sulpicius*, and threw out *Marius*

** When the Senate had appointed Sulla General in the Mithridatic War,*

Marius treated with Sulpicius the Tribune of the Plebeians, that he might have that Province assign'd him by a Vote of the People. In the mean Time Sulla turn'd from his March against Mithridates, and brings his Army to Rome, where he engaged Marius and Sulpicius: Sulpicius was slain upon the Spot; Marius was forced to fly into Africa. Appian, Lib. 1. Bell. Civil. He calls Marius the Keeper of the City, because he finished the Cimbric War. He was Cicero's Countryman; both of them from Arpinas, and he always speaks well of him.

† *Cornelius Cinna was the Colleague of Cn. Octavius. Octavius sided with Sulla. He drove out Cinna on the Account of some Laws hurtful to the Commonwealth, to which he would not consent. And being so driven out, he was deposed from his Consulship, and judged an Enemy. Marius returning from Africa join'd himself to Cinna, they besiege Rome, they take it and fill it with the Blood and Slaughter of the noblest Citizens.*

Force,

Force, driving him out of the City. This whole Place was full of Blood, and the dead Bodies of our Countrymen. *Cinna* and *Marius* were afterwards Conquerors. At which Time they extinguished the Light of the City, by slaughtering Men of the brightest Merit. Afterwards *Sulla* revenged the Cruelty of this Victory; but with what a Loss of Citizens and Calamity to the Commonwealth it is not fit to mention. *M. Lepidus* disagreed † in his Sentiments from the most famous *Q. Catulus*. The Commonwealth suffered very much in the Loss of them that perished in his Quarrel*. And these Dissensions, Gentlemen, were intended, not to extinguish, but to alter the Commonwealth. It was not their Desire that there should be no Commonwealth, but that they themselves should be the Chief; they would not had the City burnt to Ashes, but themselves to flourish in it. And although these Dissensions aimed not at the Destruction of the Commonwealth, yet none of them was determined, but by the Blood of War. But in this, which has been the greatest and the most cruel Conspiracy that ever was intended since the Memory of Man, such as no Barbarian ever committed against his Country; in which *Lentulus* and *Catiline*, *Cassius* and

† The Dis-
agreement
was in this,
namely that
he would not
suffer *Sulla*
to be buried
in the Field
of *Mars*,
which in
former
Times had
been only the
Prerogative
of Kings,
and endea-
voured to
repeal his
Laws.

* *Lepidus*
and *Catulus*
fought in
the Field of
Mars, where
Lepidus
was over-
come, and
fled to *Sar-*
dinia, where
he died of
Sickness.

and *Gethegus*, had resolved that all such as could be safe while their Country was safe, should be accounted Enemies: In this intended War, I say, I have so ordered Matters that ye are all safe. And whereas your Enemies thought of leaving no more Citizens than what should remain after an endless Massacre; and no more of the City than what should resist the Flames; I have been the Instrument to preserve both the City and Citizens intire, safe and sound. For which Things, Gentlemen, I require no Rewards of you, no Ensign of Honour, no Monument of Praise, but the everlasting Remembrance of this Day. I desire that all my Triumphs, the Ornaments of my Honour, the Monuments of my Glory, the Ensigns of my Praise, may be safely deposited and treasured up in your Minds. Nothing that's dumb, nothing that's silent, nothing that's attainable by Men of little worth, can minister any Delight to me. Your Memory, Gentlemen, shall feed my Transactions, your Speeches shall enlarge them, your Histories shall give them Age and Strength: This same Day I mean, which I hope shall be everlasting, and appointed for the Deliverance of the City, and the Remembrance of my Consulship. And that at the same Time there were in this
Common-

Commonwealth two Men, of whom the one extended the Bounds of your Empire over the whole Earth, and the other preserved the Seat and Centre of Sovereignty from Ruin. But because my Case is very different from them that have humbled our Enemies at the Head of our Armies ; because I must live with them whom I have conquered and subdued ; they left their Enemies either dispirited or slain. It belongs to you, Gentlemen, to take care, that whereas others have been rewarded for their good Service, I may not one Time or other come into Trouble for mine. If I have taken Care that the Conspiracies of Traitors should not hurt you : It lies upon you to take Care that they do me no wrong. Altho' Gentlemen, I have a pretty good Assurance they cannot hurt me ; for the Protection of good Men is a great Defence, which I have ensured to my self for ever : There is great Authority in the Commonwealth, which will silently defend me. The Power of Conscience is mighty, which whosoever neglecteth in assaulting me they will discover themselves. I have also such a Spirit, Gentlemen, as not only not to yield to any Man's Boldness, but also to bid open Defiance to the Counsels of the Wicked. But if the Torrent of Domestic

stick

stick Enemies, being diverted from you, should turn it self upon me alone; It belongs to you to consider, Gentlemen, how ye would have it fare with them, who have laid themselves open to Envy, and all manner of Dangers for your Safety. And as for me, what is there more that I can desire in this Life? Since there is nothing higher, neither in Honour and Dignity, nor in the Glory of Virtue, to which I have any Inclination to aspire. This I will endeavour, Gentlemen, that my Demeanour in a private Station shall be all of a Piece with the Things I have performed in my Consulship: That if I have drawn any Envy upon my self by preserving my Country, the Evil may rest upon the envious, tending only to add Brightness to my Glory. Lastly, I will so approve my self in the Commonwealth, as to feed upon the Remembrance of what I have done, taking Care that what has succeeded well in my Hand may appear to be the Result of Consideration, and not of Chance. You, Gentlemen, because the Night draws on, pray adore that *Jupiter*, the Keeper of this City, and of you; and go to your Houses; and though the Danger is over, yet stand upon your Watch and Defence, as ye did the

the Night before : That ye may not need to do it long, and that your Peace may be as the Mountains shall be my Care.

In this mean Time, some freed Men and Clients of *Lentulus* were tampering with Workmen and Slaves, and making Enquiry for a Captain of the Mob, in order to rescue him by Force. *Cethegus* also had sent a pressing Message to his Slaves and freed Men, Persons not unfit for such an Undertaking, that they would arm themselves and break in unto him in a Body. When the Consul understood this, he called the Senate together, and referred to them what should be done with the Persons in Custody, whom they had before judged Enemies of the Commonwealth. Then *D. Junius Silanus* was first asked, as being Consul Elect for the ensuing Year, who gave his Opinion, that they and several others their Accomplices, if they could be apprehended, should be put to Death. His Oration is no where recorded that I know of. When it came to *Cesar* he was for inflicting all manner of Severities upon them, Death only excepted : And delivered his Opinion to this Effect.

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It

93
Cæsar's
Oration in
the Senate
concerning
the Conspi-
rators.

The Roman Conduct

It becomes all Men, my Lords, that consult of doubtful Matters to be free of Hatred, Friendship, Anger and Pity. The Mind can very hardly discern the Truth where these Things are in the way: Nor did ever any Man gratify his Passion, and take a wise Course at the same Time. If you bend your Mind to Virtue it acquireth Strength: But if Lust is uppermost, it tyrannizeth, and the Mind is good for nothing. I could mention a great many Kings and Nations, my Lords, who being influenced by Anger or Pity, have taken false Measures; but I had rather have recourse to these Things which our Ancestors did wisely, contrary to the Lust and Passions of their own Minds. In the *Macedonian War* with King *Perseus*, the City of *Rhodes*, great and magnificent, which had arrived to that Height by the Kindness of the *Romans*, broke Faith with us, and sided with our Enemies: But after the finishing of the War, when the Case of the *Rhodians* was considered, our Ancestors pardoned them, least any Man should think we had commenced a War of Covetousness, and not of Honour and Justice. In likemanner, in all the *Punick Wars*, when the *Carthaginians* had done many abominable Things by us both in Peace and Truce, they

they never did the like by them ; they considered rather what was handsome and honourable for them to do, than what the others deserved to suffer. Ye must also take Care, my Lords, that the Wickedness of *P. Lentulus*, and his Accomplices, don't make you forget your own Dignity ; and that ye make not more Provision for your Anger than for your Reputation. For if there can be a Punishment found proportioned to their Crimes, I approve of these new Measures ; but if no Man can find out Punishments answerable to the Greatness of their Wickedness, I think we must be content with such as the Laws have provided. The greater Part of them that have spoke before me have very handsomly bemoan'd the Case of the Commonwealth ; they have reckoned up the Cruelties of War, and the Destinies of the conquered ; how Virgins are ravished ; Children torn from the Embraces of their Parents ; and Matrons obliged to submit to the Pleasure of the Conquerors ; Temples and Houses are rifled and spoiled ; there is nothing but Fire and Sword ; all Things are full of Arms, dead Bodies, Blood and Groans. But, by the immortal Gods, what was the Meaning of that Oration ? Was it to exasperate you against the Conspirators ? I

warrant you a Speech will inflame him that's undisturb'd at such atrocious Crimes! It is not so: No Man thinks little of the Injuries done to himself; many think more grievously of them than is fitting. But there is a great Difference in the State of Men, my Lords; Men in low Circumstances that live in Obscurity, if they transgress by Anger they are but few that hear of it; their Fame and Fortunes are confined to narrow Limits: But Men of Figure and great Authority, that lead their Lives on high, all Men know their Actions. So in the largest Fortune the greatest Circumspection is indispensably necessary. They must neither love nor hate, but especially they must never do any Thing in Anger. What in other Men goes for Passion, in Authority is called Pride and Cruelty. It is my Opinion, my Lords, that no Torments are equal to their Crimes. But most Men remember the last Things; and, in the Case of wicked Men, their Crimes are forgotten when their Punishment makes a lasting Impression if it be any way severe. I know *D. Silanus* is a Man of Worth and Honour, and what he has said proceeds upon a Principle of Love to his Country, without Favour or Hatred. Nor do I think his Opinion cruel (for what can be cruel against such

such Men) but I reckon it disagreeable to our Constitution. For, O *Silanus*, Consul elect, one would think that either Fear or Resentment had conquered you to decree an unusual Punishment. It's to no Purpose to talk of Fear, when by the present Diligence and Application of our worthy Consul, there are so good Guards in Arms. As concerning Punishment, I can indeed affirm what is true, that in Melancholy Circumstances Death is a Rest from Miseries, no Torment; it puts an End to all our Sorrows, beyond it there is no Place, neither for Anxiety or Joy. But, by the immortal Gods, why did ye not enlarge your Opinion, that they should have so many Stripes before Death? Is it because that is forbidden by the *Porcian* Law? But other Laws forbid condemned Citizens to be put to Death, allowing of Banishment. Or is it because it's more grievous to be beat than put to Death? But what can be too bitter or grievous for Men convicted of such Crimes? And if it is because it's less grievous, how do's it agree to observe the Law in a lesser Matter, when ye neglect it in a greater? But you say, who will resent what is decreed against the Cut-Throats of the Commonwealth? I answer, Time and Fortune which governs the Nations. They deserve what ever

falls to their Share. But as for you, my Lords, pray consider what ye decree against them. All ill Examples have taken their rise from good Beginnings; but when Authority comes into the Hands of Novices or wicked Men, they strain such Presidents to justify their Arbitrary Proceedings. The *Lacedemonians* set up thirty Men to govern the Commonwealth. These at first began to put every wicked Man to Death uncondemned, that was universally hated. The People rejoiced at it; and said it was well done. Afterwards by Degrees they put good and bad to Death without Difference; striking Terror unto the Remainder: So the City being brought into Slavery paid soundly for its foolish Joy. In our Memory, when *Sulla* the Conqueror commanded *Damaspus* to be put to Death, and others who had enriched themselves by the Spoils of their Countrymen, who was there but applauded what was done? They said, that wicked and factious Men who disturbed the Commonwealth with Sedition, were deservedly slain. But that Thing was the beginning of great Mischief. For as every one coveted any Man's House, his Country-Seat, his Piece of Plate or his Garment, he took Care to have his Name put in the Tables of Proscription. So they who rejoiced at the Death of
Dama-

Damasippus were a little while after hawl'd to Execution themselves: Nor was there any End of Killing 'till *Sulla* had satiated all his Friends with Riches. I am not afraid of any Thing like that in *M. Tullius*, nor in these Times. But in a great City there are many and various Dispositiōns of Men. It may chance at another Time, in another Man's Consulship, who also hath an Army at his Disposal, that some Falshoods may pass current for Truth. And when by this President the Consul has drawn his Sword by Decree of the Senate, who may set Bounds to him? Our Ancestors, my Lords, wanted never neither Council nor Courage. Nor did their Pride hinder them from imitating foreign Institutions, provided they were good. They took their Arms from the *Sannites*; and their Ensigns of Authority for the most Part from the *Tuscans*: They followed with great Application whatsoever they thought laudable or well contrived, either among their Allies or their Enemies, so they were more upon Imitation than Envy. But at the same Time, according to the Custom of *Greece*, they punished Citizens with Stripes, the Condemned they put to Death. But after the Commonwealth became great, and the Multitude of Citizens made way

for Faction, innocent Men began to be brought in Danger of their Lives, without just Cause : Then the *Porcian* and other Laws were enacted, by which it was permitted, that condemned Citizens might be banished. This, I think, my Lords, a very just Reason why we should not go upon new Measures ; because their Valour and Wisdom, who from small Beginning rear'd up this mighty Empire, was greater than ours, who have much ado to keep up to that State in which they left it. D'ye think I plead that they should be dismiss'd to recruit *Catiline's* Army ? By no means. But I think their Estates should be forfeited, and themselves sent Prisoners through the wealthiest of the Hans-Towns ; and that it should be lawful for no Body to refer their Case any more to the Senate nor the People : And that the Senate declare him an Enemy to the Commonwealth, and the general Safety, that shall pretend to do it,

Salust reports, that *Silanus* was so shaken with *Cesar's* Oration as to say he would join in Opinion with *Tiberius Nero*, who was for referring to the Senate how the Garrisons should be reinforced in these Towns where they were to remain Prisoners. *Cicero* states and reasons

sons upon both Opinions, yet so as rather to approve of what *Silanus* had delivered, in manner following.

I see, my Lords, all your Eyes are towards me. I see ye are not only anxious concerning your own Danger, and that of the Commonwealth, but also if that were once removed concerning mine. Your kind Inclination towards me is wonderfully taking and acceptable in the present Juncture. But, by the immortal Gods, I require you to suspend it ; and that, setting aside my Safety, ye would think of your selves, your Wives and Children. If it is the Fate of my Consulship to be exposed to all Bitterness, Grief and Torment ; I'll bear it not patiently only, but also willingly, provided my Labours bring forth Honour and Safety to you and the People of *Rome*. I am that Consul, my Lords, to whom the *Forum*, the Place of Equity ; the Field of *Mars* consecrated to the Election of Consuls ; the State-House, the great Help of all Nations ; my own House, the common Sanctuary of Mankind ; my Bed, which is appointed for rest, no, nor this Chair of State, was ever free from Danger, and the Snares of Death. I have conceal'd, I have born,

*Tully's 4th
Oration a-
gainst Cati-
line deliver-
ed in the
Senate,*

I have yielded a great many Things, I have placed my self betwixt you and the Danger. Now if the immortal Gods will have this to be the Issue of my Consulship, to deliver you and the People of *Rome* from the most execrable Slaughter; your Wives, your Children, and the Vestal Virgins from the most wounding Vexation; the Churches and Chapels, and this our famous Country from devouring Flames; all *Italy* from War and Destruction; whatever be my Fate I'll willingly undergo it. For if *P. Lentulus*, mis-led by the Southsayers, thought his Name would be fatal to the Commonwealth, why should not I rejoice that my Consulship was thrown in to rescue it from the Jaws of Fate. Wherefore my Lords, take Care of yourselves, provide for your Country; save your Estates, your Wives, your Children, your selves; stand up for the Honour and Safety of the People of *Rome*; and think no more of me. For first I am obliged to hope that all the Gods, the Protectors of this City, will be kind to me as I have deserved; and if there be Occasion for it, I'm ready and willing to die; for neither can an inglorious Death happen to a Man of true Honour, nor an unreasonable one to a *Roman* Consul, nor a miserable one

to

to a wise Man. Neither am I so hard-hearted as not to be affected with the Tears of all good Men, with which ye see me surrounded, and the Groans of my own Family, particularly my little Son *Marcus*, whom the Commonwealth seems to embrace as a Pledge of my Consulship: But I lay my self out that they may be safe with you, whatever happens to me, rather than we should perish with the Commonwealth. Wherefore, my Lords, apply your selves to preserve your Country; look around to all the Storms that hang over our Heads. It is not *Tib. Gracchus* endeavouring to be Tribune of the *Plebeians* a second Time: Nor *C. Gracchus* endeavouring to stir up them that were for the *Agrarian Law*: Nor *L. Saturninus* who killed *C. Memmius*, that is under your Consideration: But ye have them in Custody who remain'd at *Rome* to set the City on Fire, to murder you all, to receive *Catiline*. Ye have their Letters, their Seals, their Hand-writing; and lastly, the Confession of every one of them: The *Savoyards* are drawn in; the Slaves are stirred up; *Catiline* is sent for; the Resolution they had taken was to kill all; to leave none to mourn for the Commonwealth; nor bemoan the Calamity of so great an Empire. All this is upon Evidence,

Evidence, the Criminals have confess'd it ; ye have already given Judgment that it is so several Times. First, in that ye gave me the Thanks of your House, declaring that the Discovery of this barbarous Conspiraey was owing to my Diligence ; then in that ye commanded *Len-
tulus* to lay down his Prætorship ; again, in that ye ordered him and his Accomplices to be taken into Custody ; and chiefly in that ye appointed a Thanksgiving to the immortal Gods upon my Account ; an Honour conferred upon no Gownman before me : Lastly, ye gave Yesterday large Rewards to the *Savoyards* and *Vulturcius*. All which without doubt import, that the Persons delivered into Custody are condemned by you.

2. I have resolv'd, my Lords, as it were of new, to refer to you entirely, what ye think both of the Crime and of the Punishment. I shall speak such Things as I think fit for a Consul to speak upon such an Exigent. I perceiv'd that there was some strange Fury, some Itch of Novelty, some great Evils secretly in Agitation this long time ; but that Citizens could enter into such a terrible Conspiracy as this is, never once entered into my Mind. Now however it is, whatsoever Way your Inclinations lead you, ye must be determin-
ed

ed before Night. What a Villany is discovered, ye see; and if ye think it has few Friends or Favourers, ye are in a great Mistake. The Poison has spread its self further than a Man can imagine. It has not only run through *Italy*, but also got over the *Alps*, and creeping in Darkness hath stolen into the Possession of many Provinces, and it's impossible it should be quash'd by Patience and Forbearance. Whatsoever Expedients ye think best, they must be immediately pursued.

3. I see there are two Opinions; the one is that of *D. Silanus*, namely that the Conspirators ought to be put to Death; the other is *C. Caesar's*, who would spare their Lives, yet so as to heap upon them the utmost Bitterness of all other Punishments. Both of them have spoke honourably, and according to the Importance of the Matter with great Severity and Exactness. The one proposes that they who endeavoured to sacrifice the People of *Rome*, to extinguish her Empire, and her Name, ought not to live one Moment of time; and he mentioneth several Presidents for punishing wicked Citizens in this manner. The other understands that Death was not intended by the immortal Gods as a Punishment, but either as a Necessity of Nature,

Nature, or a Rest from Labour and Misery, and therefore wise Men never go unwillingly into it, Men of Honour meet it of their own Accord. But Chains, and such as are never to be put off, were invented for the Punishment of execrable Wickedness; and therefore he advises to disperse them amongst the Hans-Towns. But that thing seems to have Iniquity in it, if ye command it, and Difficulty, if ye require it; nevertheless let it be resolved upon, if ye think well of it. I'll undertake it, and I hope I shall find such Hans-Towns as will comply with such Things as ye shall think fit to resolve upon for the common Safety. He adds a grievous Punishment to the Inhabitants of such Hans-Towns, if any of them are set at Liberty; and that the Prisons must be made horrible, suited to the Villany of such Offenders; that no Body should have it in their Power to alleviate their Punishment, neither by Application to the Senate nor the People; he takes away their Hope, the usual Comfort of the miserable: He advises also that their Estates be forfeited, leaving the wretches nothing but their Lives; which if he had taken away at one Touch he had eas'd them of all Punishment. And therefore that the wicked might be afraid of Death, the
Ancients

Ancients promoted an Opinion, that there are such Punishments established in Hell; because they thought without these, Death it self were not to be feared. Now my Lords, I see my own Interest. If ye follow the Opinion of *C. Caesar*, I shall have less Occasion to be afraid of the Mob, because it is popular: but if ye follow the other, I don't know but it may draw a Cloud over my Head, but I shall not lay my own private Safety in the Ballance with that of my Country. For we have an Opinion from *C. Caesar* suitable to himself and his Ancestors, and as it were a Pledge of his kind Inclinations to the Commonwealth. It's easie to understand the Difference betwixt a Man affecting Popularity, and one that is truly ambitious to serve his Country. I see there is a certain Person absent, that wou'd be popular, lest he should join in passing Sentence of Death against *Roman* Citizens. And it is but two Days ago since he joined in recommending *Cethegus* and *Lentulus* to Custody, in decreeing a Thanksgiving in my Favour, and join'd Yesterday in giving ample Rewards to the Discoverers. Now I think no Man can doubt what he judges of the whole Matter, who has decreed the Criminals to Custody, a Thanksgiving in Favour of the Discoverer, and a Reward to the

the Evidence. But *C. Caesar* understands the *Sempronian* Law was made in favour of the *Roman* Citizens. He understands also that an Enemy to the Common-wealth can be no Citizen; and that the very Author of the *Sempronian* Law was sentenced to Death by the People. He cannot think that *Lentulus*, a Corrupter and a Prodigal, can be reckon'd as one of the People, after entering into such bloody Measures, in order to the Destruction of the City and the Common-wealth. And therefore that good-natured Gentleman is in no Doubt to recommend *Lentulus* to eternal Chains and Darknes; and he would have it established for the future, that it should be in no Man's Power to boast, or make himself Popular, by alleviating their Punishment to the Destruction of the Common-wealth. He addeth also the forfeiting their Estates, that the Torments of the Mind may be attended with Want and Poverty: Wherefore if you resolve upon this, I shall have one to go along with me when I speak to the People, universally beloved, and wonderfully acceptable unto 'em: Or if ye are more inclinable to what *Silanus* has proposed, ye may easily clear both your selves and me from the Imputation of Cruelty; and I'll make them sensible that it's much the * more favourable Resolution. Altho',
my

* Namely,
because
Death is the
End of Mi-
series, as
Caesar plead-
ed.

my Lords, I am not sensible how Cruelty can be committed in punishing such barbarous Wickedness; for I can't give the Lie to my own Understanding. So and no otherwise may I enjoy the Comfort of quiet and happy times with you, as I am far from Cruelty in this Matter, howsoever earnest I may appear, for who is milder than I? it's Humanity and Mercy that govern me. I seem to my self to behold this City, the Sovereign of the Nations, falling to the Ground by a sudden Conflagration: I seem to behold the Heaps of unbury'd Citizens, buried in the Ruins of my Country: I seem to behold the furious Countenance of *Cethegus* superintending the Massacre. I think I see *Lentulus* tyrannizing in that Kingdom of which it's confessed he had conceived such mighty Hopes, *Gabinus* cloath'd in Purple, and *Catiline* approaching with his Army; at the same time I am struck half dead with the mournful Lamentation of the Matrons, the Flight of the Virgins and the Vexation of the holy Ones; and because these Things appear to me very bitter and deplorable, for that Reason I think I ought to be stern and severe upon them that were so far advanced in such an hellish Design.

4. For I put the Question if a Man had his Wife and Children slain, and his House
I burnt

burnt down by a Servant, and should punish that Servant gently for so doing, whether he should be thought merciful and compassionate, or barbarous and cruel. For my Part I think he's hard-hearted and ill pois'd, that is not willing to alleviate his Grief in the just Punishment of an heinous Offender. So as to these Men, that would have murder'd us, our Wives and Children, that would have burnt every one of our Houses, extinguish'd the very Light and Being, defac'd and ruin'd the whole Fabrick of the Common-wealth; who were at Pains to place the *Sauoyards* where *Rome* stood, upon the Ruins of a consum'd Empire; if we are earnest to have them punish'd, we shall be accounted merciful; if we are slack and negligent, we shall be recorded as guilty of the greatest Cruelty to our Country-men and the Land of our Nativity; unless we'll think all of a sudden that *L. Caesar*, that valiant and dear Lover of his Country, was cruel two Days ago, when he said his Sister's * Husband was worthy of Death: Alledging his Grandfather *Flaccus* and his Son for a President, who were put to Death in Prison, by an Order from *Opimius* the Consul. Did they ever do any thing like unto this? Did they ever enter into Measures for extinguishing the Com-

* That is
Lentulus,
whose Wife
was Julia,
the Sister of
L. Caesar.

Common-wealth? There was indeed at that time two contending Parties, and a great Disposition to Bribery and Corruption. Then the other Grandfather of this *Len- tulus*, a very worthy Man, pursued *Grac- chus* Sword in Hand, and received a grievous Wound lest the Common-wealth should suffer in her Honour. This Gentleman has brought in the *Gauls* to overturn the Constitution from the Foundation; he has stirr'd up the Slaves, call'd out *Catiline*, deliver'd us to *Cethegus* as Sheep appointed to be slain, the rest of the Citizens to *Gabinus* to the same Effect; the City to be burnt by *Cassius*, all *Italy* to be pillaged and wasted by *Catiline*. Ye may be afraid, I warrant you, of being thought too severe in so dreadful a Case; when indeed there is much more Reason of being afraid, lest ye be found cruel to your Country, in remitting or slackning any thing of the just Punishment due to her merciless Enemies. But, my Lords, I cannot conceal from you what I hear. Their Words are toss'd about, and have arrived at my Ears, who seem to be afraid that I have not Strength enough to execute such Things as ye shall resolve upon this Day. All Things are prepared and calculated. My Lords, both by my great Care and Diligence, and by a much greater and more

Grac- chus had a Mind to divide Lands among the poorer Citizens, and to give Cloaths to the Soldiers, without any Deduction from their Pay, for which Reason he was suspected of an Intention to usurp a Sovereignty over his Countrymen.

stedfast Resolution of the People of *Rome*, to maintain their Sovereignty, and to preserve their common Fortunes. They are all here, all Ranks, Ages and Degrees of Men: The *Forum* is full, all the Avenues of the Temple are crowded. For this is the only Case of Difficulty since the Building of the City, in which we are all of one Mind, excepting such as having ruined themselves, were willing rather to draw the Common-wealth into the same like Fate, than perish without Company. These Men I except, and separate from the rest very willingly. For I think they are not to be look'd upon as naughty Citizens, but as cruel Enemies. But as for the rest, O ye immortal Gods! In what Numbers, with what Zeal and Valour do they conspire in maintaining the common Honour and Safety? Need I mention the *Roman* Knights, who allowing your Councils a Precedency of Order and Decency, yet contend with you in their Zeal and Earnestness for the Commonwealth: Whom after many Years Dissension, this Day hath brought into a right Understanding, and a perfect Harmony with you; which if we can maintain as commencing from my Consulship, I dare affirm it will prove a Pledge of perpetual Safety and Security

to

to all the Parts of the Constitution. I see the Commissioners of the Treasury, brave Gentlemen, assembled with the same like Zeal in Defence of the Commonwealth, with all their Clerks; who having by Chance a Meeting at the Treasury this Day, have left the Business of casting *Lotts in order to look into the Common Safety. The Multitude of Free-born Citizens, even to the lowest Degree, are all here present. For who is he to whom these Temples, the beholding of the City, the Possession of Liberty, the Light which we enjoy, and the Land of his Nativity, is not both dear, sweet and pleasant? It's worth your while, my Lords, to look into the Disposition of the freed Men, who by their Virtue and good Fortune have attained to the Freedom of the City, they look upon this as their Country; which some that are born here, and of great Parentage, have look'd upon not as their Country, but as a City of Foreign Enemies. But why should I mention this Sort of Men of private Fortune, whom our common Country, and the Love of Liberty, the sweetest of all Things, hath raised to a Posture of Defence? There is no Slave in any tolerable Servitude that is not struck in Amaze at the Boldness of wicked Citizens, that is

* They performed
their Services
by Lotts.

not willing to obstruct their Proceedings, that contributes not all the Courage he has and all the good Inclinations he can, to the common Safety. Wherefore, if any of you is troubled at what is reported, that a certain Person, one of *Lentulus's* Procurers, runs to and fro amongst the Shops and Victualing-houses, trying if he can with a little Money persuade any of the poorer or more unskilful Sort of Men to attempt the rescuing of *Lentulus*: It's true indeed, that such a Thing has been begun and attempted, but without Success: For there is none found so desperate in his Fortunes, or so vicious in his Inclinations, as to venture the miserable Life he leads upon so unhopeful and barbarous an Enterprize. For all their Dependence is upon the Multitude of Citizens, publick Ease and Plenty is the Life of their Trade, the Prop of their Gain: And if it would be a severe Pinch upon them to have their Shops shut up for a little Time, how must they fare if they were burnt to Ashes?

5. These Things being so, my Lords, the People of *Rome* will stand upon their Guard: And I'm confident ye will not be wanting to them. Ye have a Consul reserved from a great many Dangers and Ambuscades, nay even from Death it self,
not

not that he might live, but that he might watch for your Safety. There is an universal Harmony, among all Ranks and Degrees of Men in their Minds, Inclinations, Zeal and Valour to preserve the Common-wealth; your common Country, beset with the Torches and Swords of this impious Conspiracy, stretcheth out her Hands to you in the most humble Manner: To you she commendeth her self, the Life of all her Citizens, her Castle, her Capitol, the Altars of her Household-Goods, her eternal Fire, her Churches and Chappels, her Walls and Houses. Moreover ye must judge to Day concerning your own Lives and the Lives of your Wives and Children, our Fortunes, Habitations, our * Hearths. Ye have a Leader mindful of you, and forgetful of himself, which does not happen always in such Cases: Ye have all Orders, all Men, the whole Body of the People in the same Opinion; the first time that ever we saw such an Harmony in a Case of this Nature. Consider how one Night had almost extinguished an Empire founded with so much Labour, Liberty established with so much Valour, Wealth and Riches heaped up by so much Kindness of the immortal Gods. Ye must take care this Day not

* These
were look'd
upon to be
the Residence
of the House-
hold-Gods.

only to guard us against such wicked Designs for the future, but even anticipate and cut off the Hope of all such Enterprizes for ever: I have spoke these Things not to excite your Zeal, wherein perhaps ye are more forward than I; but to discharge my self as Consul. Now before I come to a Conclusion, give me Leave to speak a few Things concerning my self. Whatever the Number of the Conspirators may be, which you see is very great, I have made them all mine Enemies; but I look upon them as a Set of base, weak, mean and despicable Men. And if ever it happens if any Man's Fury and Wickedness brings it about, that that Set of Men should have more Power in their Hands than they that are in the true Interest of their Country, I will never, my Lords, repent of what I have done. For Death, with which perhaps they threaten me, is prepared for all Men: Nevertheless no Man has attain'd in his Life-time to so much Honour as ye have conferred upon me by your Decrees. Ye have given other Men Thanks for their good Service, but me for preserving the Common-wealth. May *Scipio* be famous; the Man who by his Valour and Conduct obliged *Hanibal* to leave *Italy*, and return to *Africa*; may

may the Name of the other *African* be recorded with Honour, who extinguish'd two Cities most bitter Enemies of this Empire. May *L. Paulus* be remembered as a noble Patriot, whose Chariot was honour'd with the Attendance of the great King *Perses*: may the Glory of *Marius* never fade, who twice delivered *Italy* from Siege, from Fear and Bondage; may *Pompey* be beyond them all, whose Valour and great Actions are as far extended as the Rays of the Sun. I hope there will be some Place for me amongst these great Names; unless it is a greater Matter to extend our Provinces, than to preserve an Home for our Conquerors, against their Return. Altho' in one Respect a Foreign is better than a Domestick Victory: Because foreign Enemies, are either reduced into Bondage, or very much obliged by being received into Friendship; but as for depraved and whimsical Citizens, who have once taken upon them to conspire against their Country, when ye have defeated their Designs, it's impossible either to restrain them by Force, or soften them with Kindness: Wherefore I perceive I am engaged in an endless War, against which I hope I have a very good Defence in you, and in the Friendship of all good Men,
togeth-

together with the Memory of so great Dangers, which will be recorded, not only amongst the People whom I have preserved, but also in the Speeches, Minds and Histories of all Nations. Nor will they ever be able to break the Friendship that is betwixt you and the *Roman* Knights, nor the Harmony that is amongst all Good Men. These Things then being so my Lords, for my Command, for my Army, for my Province, which I neglected, for my Triumph and other Ensigns of Praise, which I slighted, that I might watch for your Safety, and that of the City, for my Vassallages and provincial Hospitals which I maintain out of my own private Fortune, at no less Charge than I purchased them: For all these Things I say, for my singular Zeal for you, and my great Diligence in preserving the Common-wealth, of which ye are very sensible; I desire no more but that you'll remember this critical Juncture, and the Consulship of *Cicero*, which if it be stamped upon your Minds I shall think my self surrounded with a Wall of Defence: But and if I should be disappointed in my Hopes, if the Conspirators should get up their Heads, I recommend to you my little Son, who will be safe enough, both as
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to his Person and Dignity, if ye do but remember him as his Son that ventured so far to preserve his Country. Wherefore my Lords give out your Decree with Courage and Constancy concerning your Safety, and the Safety of the People of *Rome*, your Families, your Altars, your Churches, and Chappels, the Habitations of the City, the Empire, the Liberty, the Safety of *Italy*, and the whole Common-wealth in general. For ye have a Consul, both willing to execute your Decrees, and that will stand by what ye shall resolve upon, while he hath Breath to draw.

Cicero you see inclin'd to the Opinion of *Silanus*, yet he spoke with so much Modesty and Caution, as rather to press them to resolve upon something, than direct them what to resolve upon. And *Silanus* himself having come over to the Opinion of *Cesar*, the greater Part of the Senate inclined that Way, 'till *Cato* being asked, delivered his Judgement in manner following.

I differ extremely from the Sentiments of *Cesar*, my Lords, when I consider our present State, our Danger, and the Reasoning of some Noble Lords that spoke before me. The
Question

*Cato's
Oration,*

Question is concerning the Punishment of them that have prepared War against their Country, their Parents, their Religion. The Case calls loud upon us to consider, not so much what is fit to be resolved upon against them, as how we may be safe. Other Crimes ye punish after they are committed, but as to this ye must take Care to prevent it, for if it's once committed, there is no Place for Punishment. If they are once Masters of the City, we are undone effectually beyond Remedy. But I charge you by the immortal Gods, who have ever set an higher Value upon your Houses, your Country-Seats, your Statues, your Pictures, than upon the Common-wealth; if ye desire to hold the Possession of these Things which ye love so dearly, to wave the Question concerning their real Value, if, I say, ye desire Quietness and Leisure to enjoy your Pleasures, awake at Length and put on a publick Spirit. The Question is not concerning your Revenues, nor Injuries done to your Allies: Our Lives and Liberties are at Stake. I have oftentimes spoken, my Lords: I have oftentimes complain'd of the Luxury and Covetousness of our Citizens; and have got my self many Enemies on that Account. I cannot forgive my self, when

Cato was a Stoick and therefore would not own the Goods of Fortune really valuable.

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I'm in a Fault, it's impossible that I should look upon the Crimes of other Men without Resentment. But in these other Instances, tho' ye thought little of them, yet the Constitution was safe. Great Wealth and mighty Power are not ruined by a little Negligence. But at this time the Question is not whether we shall live virtuously or not; neither is it concerning the Greatness and Magnificence of the *Roman Empire*; but whether the Things that we possess in any kind shall be our own entirely, or only so far as our Enemies shall think fit. Will any Man tell me of Mercy and Gentleness in this Case? It's now a long time since we have lost the true Names of Things. To be prodigal of other Mens Goods is called Liberality; to be bold in Wickedness is called Fortitude; by that Means the Common-wealth is at the Brink of Ruin. Be it so, because it's Customary; let them be liberal of their Neighbour's Fortunes; let them be merciful to the Robbers of the publick Treasury, lest they should be prodigal of our Blood; and in sparing a few barbarous Wretches, let them ruin all the Patrons of Modesty and Virtue. *Cæsar* has spoke very handsomly, just now discrediting, I think, what we believe concerning the
State

state of the Dead, as if the Wicked in that World had not a very different Fate from that of the Righteous, as if they were not sent to ugly, waste, nasty, and frightful Places. And therefore he proposes that their Estates should be forfeited, and themselves made Prisoners in the Hans-Towns; (to wit) lest if they are at *Rome* they should be rescued either by the Accomplices of the Conspiracy, or an hired Multitude: As if there were wicked Wretches no where else but at *Rome*; As if Men were entirely Honest and Loyal, without exception, throughout all *Italy*; or, as if Boldness could not do more Mischief where there is less Power to restrain it. Wherefore, if he thinks we are in any Danger from them, that Overture is vain: And if he is the only Man without Fear, where all of us are so justly afraid, we have the more reason to take care of ourselves. Wherefore, when ye resolve upon Measures with regard to *Leontulus* and the rest that are here, ye may take it for granted your Decrees reach *Catiline* and his Army, and all the Conspirators. If ye mind your Matters exactly, it will sink their Courage. If they see you slack and negligent, they'll come upon you fierce as Lions. Ye must not imagine, that

NOTE.

that it was by Fighting only that our Ancestors made the Commonwealth so great from small Beginnings. If it were so, we should have it much more Glorious than it is ; for we have Allies, Citizens, Arms, and Horses in greater Plenty than they had. But there were other Things that made them Great ; of which we have nothing at all: Industry at home, Justice abroad ; a free Mind in consulting of publick Affairs, neither * manacled with Lust nor Crimes. For these Things we have Luxury and Covetousness ; publick Poverty and private Wealth : We praise Riches, and practise Laziness : We make no difference between good and bad Men : Ambition possesseth all the Rewards of † Virtue. Nor is it any wonder when ye are govern'd by secret and private Motives. Ye indulge your selves in Pleasures at home, and in publick Concerns ye think of nothing but scraping a little Money, or obliging this, or that Friend ; by which means it comes to pass, that whosoever has a mind to attack the Constitution, finds it undefended. But to pass over these things ; Citizens of the noblest Extract have conspired to set their Country in Flames ; they have called in that Nation into the War which is the bitterest

* He means, that such as favoured the Conspirators, were either partakers in the Crime, or had some view of gratifying their Lust by the Alteration.
† Cato would neither bow nor truckle for Votes, and in trusting to his Virtue, he was disappointed of the Consulship.

est of all the *Gauls* against the *Roman* Name. The General of the Enemies, with his Army, is over our Heads: Ye stand lingering and fluctuating what ye shall do with the Enemies apprehended within the Walls: I warrant you ye may pity them; their Ambition has misled them into a youthly Error; ye had better send them away in their Arms. If you'll believe me, that Gentleness and Mercy is like to turn to your Sorrow. In a word, the thing itself is terrible, but ye are without Fear. Or perhaps ye are afraid; but by indolence and softness of Mind, ye lie lingering till one or other shall lead the way, trusting, I warrant you, to the Immortal Gods, who have oft-times preserved this Commonwealth in the greatest Dangers. The help of the Gods is not obtained by heartless Wishes and Desires, nor effeminate Devotions, but by Watchfulness and Diligence, and right calculated Resolutions, all Things go well. If ye surrender your self to Sloth and Doubtfulness, 'tis to no purpose to pray to the Gods: They're disobliged and angry. Amongst our Ancestors, *A. Manlius Torquatus* in the *Gallick* War, commanded his Son to be put to Death, because he had fought against the Enemy without

Com-

Command. So that noble Youth suffered for his immoderate Valour. Ye stand gazing upon one another, before ye can resolve what to do with the most cruel Paricides? their former Life, I warrant you, will excuse them from Punishment. But ye may be tender of the Grandeur of *Lentulus*, if he himself wasever tender of his own Chastity, or of his Reputation, or any of the Gods or Men. Ye may spare *Cethegus*, because he's a young Gentleman, if this is not the Second time he has prepared War against his Country. Why should I mention *Gabinus*, *Statilius* and *Ceparius*, who if ever they had known what it is to be sober or serious, could never have fallen in with these Measures, nor with such a Gang. Lastly, my Lords, if there were Room for trifling, I should be glad to stand by and see you learn Wisdom, by smarting a little for your Folly because ye think little of Words. But we are surrounded on all Hands: *Catiline* threatens our Throats with his Army; his Confederates are in our Bowels within the Walls. We can enter upon no Measures, we can make no Preparation against him, that can be conceal'd: So that Expedition is indispensably necessary. Wherefore whereas

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the Common-wealth is brought into the greatest Danger by the villanous Contrivance of blood-thirsty Citizens, and these convicted by the Testimony of *T. Vulturinus* and the Ambassadors, they themselves confessing also that they had prepared Fire and Sword, and all Manner of Cruelty against their Country and their Country-men. It is my Opinion they should be punished as Capital Offenders, according to the Custom of our Ancestors.

When *Cato* fate down all the former Consuls, and the greater Part of the Senate applaud his Judgment, and extol his Genius, charging one another with Cowardice, while *Cato* is esteemed great, and the Decree of the Senate passes according to what he had declared. The Consul thought it advisable to make use of the Night approaching, lest any thing should be attempted, and accordingly sent Orders to the Executioners to make all Things ready: Then after disposing of the Guards, he led *Lentulus* to the Prison himself; the rest were led by the Pretors. There is a Vault in the Prison about twelve Foot under Ground, called the Dungeon, unfrequented, dark, noisom, and

and frightful, whither *Lentulus* was brought and strangled. So that Patrician of that noble Family of the *Cornelii*, once Consul at *Rome*, ended his Days, in such Manner as he very justly deserved, as did also *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, *Gabinus*, and *Ceparius*.

While these Things are doing at *Rome*, *Catiline* proposes, of them that came with himself, and them that he found with *Mallius*, to muster up two Legions; and tho' he was not above two thousand Men at the first, yet betwixt Friends and Voluntiers, in a little time he compleated the Number. But of the whole there was not above one fourth Part armed; the rest had only such Country-Weapons as they could come by. But when *Antonius* approached with his Army, *Catiline* took his Way through the Mountains, moving sometimes towards the City, sometimes towards *Gaul*; yet so as to decline Fighting; for he hop'd for a considerable Reinforcement from *Rome*, as soon as his Confederates had performed their Part there. In the mean time depending upon the Strength of the Conspiracy, he rejected the Slaves who flock'd about him in great Numbers at the Beginning;

because he thought it would give Offence if he communicated the Cause of *Roman* Citizens with such contemptible Fugitives. But when the News came to the Camp that the Conspiracy was discover'd at *Rome*; and that *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* were put to Death; the greatest Part of them stole away that had been drawn in, on Prospect of Spoil: The Remainder *Catiline* leads through the rugged Ways of the Mountains to the Country of *Pistorium*, by great Marches, on purpose to get into *Gaul* by the Foot-Paths. But *Q. Metellus Celer*, who was in the Country of *Picenum* with three Legions to watch his Motions, being apprehensive that Necessity would put him upon that Course which he was really following, after Information from Deserters, made Haste and encamped at the Foot of the Mountains, in his Way to *Gaul*. Neither was *Antonius* far off, who with his great Army was able to pursue them upon fair Ground. When *Catiline* perceived himself shut up in the Mountains by the Forces of his Enemies, and whereas Things had miscarried in the City, that there was no escaping; he thought it advisable to try the Fortune
of

of War, and resolved to engage *Antonius* without Delay. Wherefore calling his Men together, he spoke to them in this Manner.

I know for certain. Gentlemen Soldiers, that Words can never have Strength enough to inspire Courage where it is wanting; and that a cowardly Army does not become brave by the Eloquence of a General. It appears in War, only in Proportion to the Endowments of Nature, and the Improvement of Exercise: It's to no Purpose to speak to him, who is neither affected with Glory nor Danger. The Cowardice of his Mind shuts his Ears. Yet I have called you together, that I might mind you of a few Things; and that ye may know my * Intention. Ye see what a Blow the Dullness and Mismatchment of *Lentulus* has brought upon himself and us; and how in waiting for Succours from the City, I am block'd up from marching into *Gaul*. And now in what Case we are, ye see all of you, as well as I. There are two Armies in our Way, one betwixt us and the City, another betwixt us and *Gaul*. Here we can make no stay, if we had ever so great a Mind to it, for want of Provisions:

*Catiline's
Oration to
his Soldiers,*

**He means of
engaging An-
tonius.*

vifions. Whithersoever we go, we must open the Way with our Swords. Wherefore I desire you to put on an obstinate Resolution; and when ye enter the Battle, I'd have you remember that ye carry Riches, Honour and Glory, Liberty also, and your Country on your Right Hands. If we overcome, all Things will be safe; we shall have Provisions in Abundance, the Colonies and Hans-Towns will lye open to us. But if we sink through Fear, all these Things will be against us; neither Place nor Friend can protect him, whom his Arms will not defend: Moreover Gentlemen, ye and they are not under the like Necessity. We fight for our Country, for our Liberty, for our Lives: They only for a needless Superiority over a few Men. Wherefore I hope ye will assault them with the greater Violence, remembring your former great Atchievements. Ye might have lived basely in Disgrace and Banishment. Some of you having lost your own might have waited for new Estates at *Rome*. Because such Things were hateful and intolerable, ye have chosen these Measures. If ye would have an happy End of your present Distress, ye must attain

attain it by Courage. None but the Conquerour turns War into Peace. To hope for Safety in running away, and to turn your Arms from your Enemies, by which your Bodies are protected, is certainly Madnes. They are always in greatest Danger in the time of Battle, who are most afraid: Boldness is a Wall of Defence. When I consider you, Gentlemen, when I weigh your great Actions, I am strongly possess'd with the Hope of Victory. Your Courage, your Age, your Valour, proclaim my Hopes; and above all the rest, Necessity, which maketh Cowards valiant. For the Nature of the Ground will not suffer us to be furrounded. If Fortune envies your Valour, see that ye lose not your Lives for nought; See that ye chuse not to be taken Prisoners and slaughtered like Bullocks, rather than by fighting like Men of Honour, to leave a mournful and bloody Victory to the Enemy.

His Oration ended, after a little Pause, he commanded to sound the Charge. Then turning away the Horses, that every Man's Danger might be equal,

equal, and being on Foot himself, he drew up his Army in the Order of Battle. There was on the Left Hand a Track of Mountains, and on the Right another of rugged Rocks; he placed eight Companies in the Van; the rest of the Standards in the Rear, where the Ground was narrower. He gave the Right Wing to *Mallius*, the Left to a certain *Fesulan*; and he himself, with some freed Men, and some that had served under *Sulla*, kept by the Eagle, which *Marius* is reported to have had in the *Cimbrick* War. On the other

* Dio saith
this was a
Pretence, lest
Catiline
should up-
braid him
for relinqui-
shing the Con-
spiracy.

Hand, *C. Antonius* being ill of his * Feet, because he could not go into the Battle himself, committed the Army to *M. Petreius*, his Lieutenant. He places the *Veterans* in the Van, whom he had enlisted on Account of the Tumult; and behind them the rest of the Army, himself riding about, addresseth them every one by Name, encouraging and desiring them to remember that they were going against unarmed Robbers, to fight for their Country, for their Children, for their Religion. He was above thirty Years standing in the Army, and had approved himself very handsomely in all the

the Degrees of his Advancement; he knew most of the Men and their greatest Actions, by mentioning whereof he inflamed their Spirits. When all Things were ready *Petreius* founded the Charge, commanding the Troops to advance deliberately. The Enemy did in like Manner. As soon as they came within the Throw of a Dart, they run together with a great shout, and flinging their half Pikes aside, they went to it Sword in Hand. The *Veterans* press close upon *Catiline's* Men, who received them warmly, so that the Dispute was very hot. In the mean time *Catiline* was with the Boldest in the Front, succouring them that were most hardly put to it; calling up fresh Supplies in Place of the wounded; fighting himself; assaulting the Enemy; performing at once both the Part of a good General, and a stout Soldier. When *Petreius* saw the Obstinacy of *Catiline's* Men, beyond what he expected; he charged their main Body with a Troop of *Prætorian* Guards; putting them into great Disorder, and carrying all before him: Making also fresh Assaults upon each Wing.

Wing. *Mallius* and the *Fesulan* fall with the first, fighting valiantly. When *Catiline* saw his Army beaten, and but a few with himself remaining; mindful of his Parentage and former Dignity, he runneth upon the Croud of the Enemies, where he is slain. When the Battle was over, a Man might see the bold undaunted Courage of *Catiline's* Army. For generally every Man's Body covered the Place which fell to his Share to fight in. Some only of them that were attack'd by the *Pretorian* Guards were a little disjointed; but they had all fallen by Wounds in their Face and Breast. *Catiline* was found a long Way from his Men, amongst the dead Bodies of his Enemies, with his Breath not quite gone from his Body; retaining that Fierceness of Countenance which he brought to the Attack. In the whole Action there was not one free Man taken Prisoner. So little Regard they shewed for their own or their Enemies Lives. Neither was it a joyful nor an easie Victory to the Army of the *Roman* People: For, generally speaking, the bravest Men were killed or wounded. Many of them that went out of the Camp for Curiosity
sake,

fake, or for gleaning the Spoils, found either a Friend, or a Guest, or a Kinsman among the dead Bodies of the Enemy. Others also found some that had formerly born a Grudge against them: So there was a great Mixture of Joy and Sorrow throughout the whole Army.

F I N I S.



...the whole Army.

